THE

MAYER PAPYRI A & B

Nos. M. 11162 and M. 11186 of the Free Public Museums, Liverpool

Published by authority of the Libraries, Museums and Arts Committee of the Corporation of Liverpool

BY

T. ERIC PEET, M.A.

BRUNNER PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL
FORMERLY CRAVEN FELLOW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

WITH TWENTY-SEVEN PLATES

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PREFACE

It was in 1913 that Dr. Alan H. Gardiner first called my attention to the Mayer Papyri in the Liverpool Free Public Museums and suggested that, either alone or in collaboration with him, I should attempt their publication. From the first we regarded this as merely an instalment of a larger task, namely the adequate publication of all the documents relating to the tomb-robberies of the late Ramesside period, a design which we have by no means abandoned. With regard to the Mayer Papyri in particular our original intention was to publish a critical edition with notes, but it gradually became apparent that this was impossible without a careful collation and study of three papyri in the British Museum which manifestly belong to the same group of documents. As neither of us see the slightest possibility, owing to pressure of other work, of being able to undertake this in the immediate future, we have decided to publish at once the facsimile, transcription and translation, together with the indispensable minimum of introduction, leaving the critical annotation for a more favourable opportunity.

Almost at the last moment Dr. Gardiner felt himself forced to withdraw from further collaboration in the volume owing to lack of time. Students may, however, rest assured that every single reading in the transcription has his approval, a joint collation having been made in 1914, and a joint revision in 1919, in addition to which he has examined every sign of my facsimile of Mayer A with the original before him. The text may therefore make a much higher claim to accuracy and finality than my name could ever have given to it. Many of the renderings, too, are due to Dr. Gardiner, but as I have in a few cases, unwisely no doubt, ventured to differ from him, the translation must not be assumed to carry his authority. The introductory sections are my own work, but like the rest of the volume they bear at every point the marks of his improving hand.

A word or two is necessary regarding the facsimile of Mayer A. The papyrus is of such high interest palaeographically that a reproduction of some kind was indispensable. Nothing could be done by photography, so seriously had the method of mounting reduced the contrasts. A direct tracing was likewise out of the question, since it was clearly inadvisable to remove the glass. Photographs of natural size were therefore taken, and on these the signs, often none too visible, were inked in with waterproof Indian ink in front of the original. The prints were then laid in a weak acid bath of Potassium Permanganate, which rapidly dissolved out the silver, leaving the inked signs standing on a pure white background. It was then easy to reproduce by the ordinary line-block process.

My thanks are due to the Committee of the Liverpool Museums for permission to publish the papyri, and also for very considerable financial support in the undertaking. I am grateful to the Director of the Museums, Dr. Clubb, and to Mr. Entwistle and other members of the staff for facilities afforded us in our work, and for endless patient assistance in moving the papyri to and fro and in photographing them.

The acknowledgments I have made of Dr. Gardiner's help do not convey any adequate idea of what the work owes to him, quite apart from the fact that the main financial burden is his. Both he and I derived particular pleasure and encouragement from a generous donation towards the cost of the work made, quite spontaneously, by Mr. Robert Gladstone of Liverpool.

T. ERIC PEET.

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THE MAYER PAPYRI A & B

INTRODUCTION

History of the Two Papyri.

The hieratic papyri known as Mayer A and Mayer B lie in the Liverpool Free Public Museums under the numbers M. 11162 and M. 11186 respectively. They were given to the Museums by Mr. Mayer in 1867 along with the rest of his considerable Egyptian collection.

Of their earlier history we know very little, except that A was brought to England by the Rev. H. Stobart.[1] It seems probable that the papyri were in Mr. Mayer's private collection as early as 1863, for in that year was held in London an exhibition of the "Mayer MSS.," a series of Greek papyri proved to have been forged by the notorious Simonides. In the report on the exhibition[2] we read: "Besides the Mayer MSS., M. Simonides exhibited two rolls of hieratic writing, the genuineness of which was not doubted." These were almost certainly identical with Mayer A and B. Simonides states in the report that "he had unrolled from time to time certain papyri in Mr. Mayer's museum"; and in effect the linen on which B is mounted is marked in ink in the right-hand bottom corner Κ. *Σιμονίδου ἀνακάλυψις*, which is probably to be translated not "discovered by Simonides," but "unrolled by Simonides."

Provenance of the Papyri.

It is obvious from the contents of the papyri that they come from Thebes. They probably formed part of a great *dossier* concerning the tomb-robberies of the late Ramesside era, of which the following portions have come down to us.

1. Papyrus Abbott, with the dockets on its *verso*.
2. Papyrus Amherst.[3]
3. Papyrus Harris A.[3]
4. Papyrus Ambras (Vienna, Pap. 30).[4]
5. Papyri British Museum 10052, 10053, 10054 and 10068.[5]
6. Two fragments of papyri at Turin.[6]

Previous Work on the Papyri.

Neither papyrus has ever been published either in photograph, facsimile, or hieroglyphic transcription. They were first studied by Goodwin, who wrote a short account of them in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, pp. 39 ff., and 1874, pp. 61 ff., a work of very remarkable insight and accuracy for its time.

[1] Gatty, *Catalogue of the Mayer Collection*, 1879.
[2] *Report of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature on some of the Mayer Papyri and the Palimpsest of Uranius*, London, 1863.
[3] Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*.
[4] von Bergmann, *Hieratische Texte*, 6; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, pp. 1 ff.
[5] Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynast.* XVIII–XXI, Hannover, 1892.
[6] Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der Thebanischen Necropolis im Neuen Reich*, Strassburg, 1898.

At a meeting of the Congress of Orientalists in Vienna in 1886, Eisenlohr discussed the papyri,[1] but without making any material advance on the work done by Goodwin.

In 1890 Spiegelberg spent a few days in studying Mayer A and B. He afterwards sent a complete translation of both to the Directors of the Liverpool Museums, portions of which were published in pamphlet form by the Museum authorities in 1891.[2] This translation naturally formed an immense advance on anything which had been done previously, but, in view of the length of the documents and the difficulties of decipherment, it was hardly to be expected that even so acute a scholar as Spiegelberg could get the best out of the papyri in the short space of a few days. He has never published his transcription, though he has made considerable use of the material in his *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynast.* XVIII-XXI, Hannover, 1892.

Breasted refers to the papyri in *Ancient Records*, iv, p. 273, and translates short portions of A from Spiegelberg's transcription, lent for the purpose. He wrongly attributes the desecrated tomb in B to Amenophis III.[3]

In the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ii, pp. 173 ff. and 204 ff., I published a short account of both papyri, with an attempt at a translation of B.[4]

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[1] *Altägyptische Untersuchungsacten über Beraubung von Königsgräbern*, Wien, 1888. (*Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses.*)

[2] *Museum Report*, No. 5, 1891.

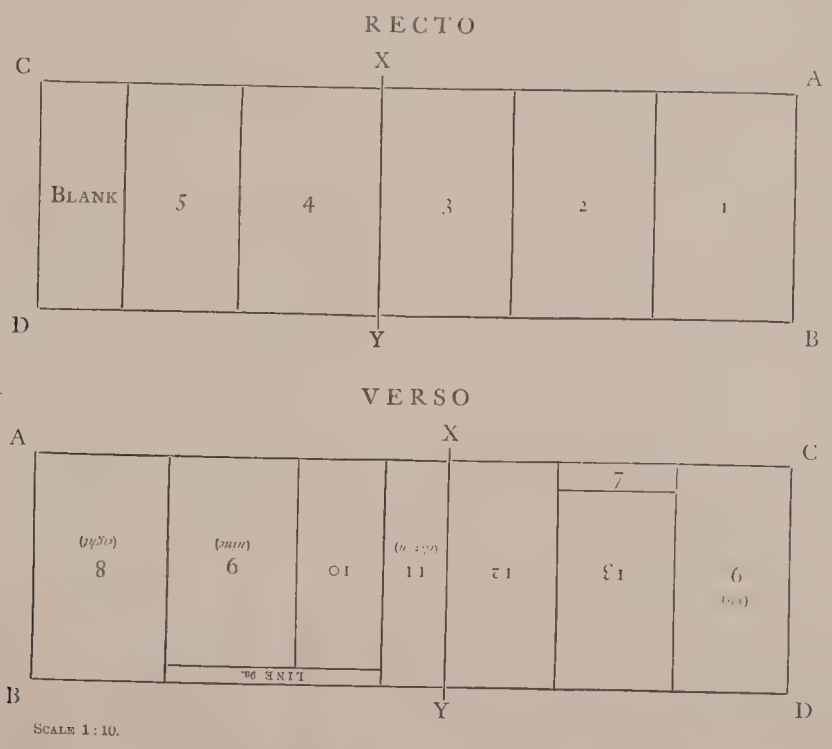
[3] An error repeated by myself in the article quoted below.

[4] Further references to the papyri will be found in: Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 1894, p. 137; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 510; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii, pp. 181, 185.

PAPYRUS MAYER A

1. Description.

Papyrus Mayer A in its present condition consists of a single sheet measuring 1430 mm. by 425 mm., cut vertically into two portions, of length 795 and 635 mm. respectively, and inscribed on both faces. The cutting (marked XY in the figure), which comes between pages 3 and 4 of the *recto*, is clearly modern, and has been so carelessly done as to sever part of the first sign in several of the lines of page 4. In addition to the cutting of the papyrus into two pieces some trimming has been done along the edge, for on the *verso* there is a line of hieratic (marked 9a) running across the top of pages 9 and 10 which has been so mutilated that the upper halves of its opening signs have been cut away.



Scale 1 : 10.

The two separate sheets of which the document now consists are mounted each between two pieces of ordinary glass. But before mounting each piece was covered back and front with a semi-transparent paper (*papier végétal*). No doubt this treatment has ensured the preservation of the papyrus, which is indeed very thin and ragged in places, but it has laid up a store of troubles for the decipherer. We may pass over the obviously increased difficulty of reading through a medium of any kind, even when that medium is comparatively transparent. More serious trouble is caused by the fact that the paper has at some points become detached from the face of the papyrus and risen some small fraction of a millimetre; a very small distance, it is true, but enough to give the paper an opaque appearance and to obscure the signs beneath it. Another, though a much less annoying source of

difficulty is to be found in the numerous small spots of white mould which have been formed at various points, generally near the edges. These are of long standing and have not sensibly increased either in size or in number in the last five years.

The order of writing, and consequently the order in which we must read, is as follows (see the figure). The scribe first wrote pages 1 to 5 consecutively on the *recto*. Finding the space left (160 mm. wide) rather narrow for another page of the same breadth he left it blank, turned his papyrus over as usual in a horizontal sense and wrote page 6 and the three lines of which page 7 consists. There for the moment he stopped. Wishing afterwards to record further details of the trials, he added pages 8 to 13 on the still blank portion of the *verso*, but before doing so he turned the papyrus round so as to begin at the free end of the *verso*, with the result that what he now wrote was upside down as compared both with the rest of the *verso* and with the *recto*. It will be seen later that this sketch of the order of writing is completely confirmed by a study of the material contents of the pages.

2. Date.

The story of Papyrus Mayer A begins, as will be shown below, with the two dockets on the *verso* of the Abbott Papyrus, dated in "Year 1 corresponding to Year 19." Now as the Abbott Papyrus itself is dated in the 16th year of Neferkerēʿ Setpenrēʿ, Ramesses IX, it has generally been taken for granted that the date Year 19 of the dockets refers to the same reign. And this is doubtless right. There is, however, less ground for taking Year 1 to which this Year 19 corresponds to be the first year of Ramesses X, and, as far as can be seen, no ground at all for dating to the first year of this king the papyrus Mayer A.

The first section of the papyrus is dated "Year 1 in the Repeating of Births." Now it is true that in one of the well-known inscriptions of Sethos I on the walls of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak[1] we find a date "Year 1, Repeating of Births, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Memaʿrēʿ." But here the phrase has a simple explanation; for "Repeating Births" is the *nbty* name of Sethos, and as such is appropriate. But it is not a name of Ramesses X, and therefore to take the date of Mayer A as referring to the first year of his reign is an assumption. Moreover, it is worth while to remember that just about this period some remarkable events seem to have happened in Egypt. In the very papyrus we are discussing there is a reference to a war in the northern region (13 B. 2), and apparently to an attack by the foreigners (*ỉ:ʿw*) on the temple of Medinet Habu, and to some suppression or similar of the high priest of Amūn (6. 4–8). An unpublished papyrus in the British Museum[2] which deals with these same trials contains a reference to "the year of the hyænas, when men hungered." Finally, a Turin papyrus, the style of which dates it approximately to this period, contains a diary[3] of the Theban necropolis in which we find some striking entries. On certain days of Year 13 (king unknown, but quite possibly Ramesses IX) we find "There were no foreigners" or "The foreigners were not here," and on other days similar phrases occur with the substitution of "Libyans" (*Rbw*) for "foreigners." Other entries show that the necropolis workers were in a state of almost continual starvation owing to the non-arrival of their rations, doubtless to be connected with the presence of the foreigners.

All this evidence points to strange happenings in Egypt, and we are led to suspect that the "Repeating of Births" may refer to the opening of a new era,[4] marking perhaps the re-establishment of Pharaonic government after a period of internal dissension, possibly accompanied by or caused by foreign intrusion.

This is of course hypothesis. Be it right or wrong, it will at least serve as a protest against the common attribution of this Year 1 to Ramesses X, which entirely lacks proof. It is true that Maspero[5] quotes an unpublished Turin papyrus, which, though undated, he refers to the reign of Ramesses IX, as proving that this king only reigned 19 years. The papyrus consists of the accounts of three fishermen attached to a temple, entries being made every few days. The date "Year 19, fourth month of the inundation season, day 27" is followed by "Year 1, first month of the winter season, last day." But this in no way shows that the Year 1 is that of Ramesses X.

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[1] North wall, east of door.

[2] Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien*, p. 87.

[3] Partly published by Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, Pls. 152–3. A careful collation of the original by Gardiner has been used here.

[4] Gardiner remarks that Amenemmes I and Sethos I, both kings at the beginning of dynasties, bore the name *whm mỉwt*, "Renewing Births." Did they regard themselves as beginners of a renaissance?

[5] *Les Momies Royales de Deir el Bahari*, p. 658.

Nevertheless, in the case of Mayer A and of the Abbott dockets the assumption has been quite generally made, notably by Breasted[1] and Petrie.[2] The former explains the double date in the dockets by supposing that Ramesses IX made his successor co-regent in his nineteenth year, and the latter[3] either by the same supposition or by that of a carrying on of the old reign-dating to give uniformity of dating to the whole series of documents concerning the tomb robberies. These authorities may of course be right. They make the very natural assumption, which few will be disposed to doubt, that the trial recorded in Mayer A took place shortly after the reports recorded in the Abbott dockets. Their argument is that, assuming the docket to date from Year 1 of Ramesses X, then "Year 1 of the Repeating of Births," the date of Mayer A, must refer to the same year. We may, however, argue in the reverse manner. The date of Mayer A can hardly be a mere ordinary reign-date, since there is no true parallel in Egyptian for the use of such a phrase in reign-dates. It must refer to some era. As the report contained in the Abbott dockets can only be a little earlier it may also refer to the same system of dating, and therefore not necessarily to Ramesses X.

One other document has preserved for us this same mode of dating, the Vienna papyrus No. 30 (Ambras Papyrus, see above, p. 1), dated "Year 6 in the Repeating of Births." Enough has been said above to show that the common attribution of this papyrus to Year 6 of Ramesses X[4] is no more than an assumption.

3. Contents.

All the text-books which mention the papyrus assume that it deals with the trial of the thieves of the tombs of Ramesses II and Sethos I in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. This is an error which is doubtless due to three causes.

1. The failure to realise not only that the papyrus is a document incomplete in itself, but that it is a patchwork of records from at least two trials on entirely separate charges, though tried perhaps by the same court and about the same time.

2. The treatment of the introductory paragraph (Section I) as if it referred to the whole papyrus instead of, as is actually the case, merely to a part of it (Sections II and IV).

3. The assumption, wholly unjustified, that the Corridor-House (*pr-n-st*) of Ramesses II and the "Forty Houses" of Sethos I were the tombs of those two monarchs.

These are misconceptions which could hardly have been avoided by those who, like Erman[5] and Petrie,[6] had nothing to go on but Goodwin's very summary and naturally incorrect account of the papyrus (see above, p. 1), but they become patent to anyone who carefully studies a correct transcription of the whole document or series of documents.

We shall therefore proceed without further preliminary to establish three points in connection with the papyrus:—

(*a*) That it consists of a series of small documents relating to two separate and distinct trials, one on the charge of robbing or receiving stolen goods from certain tombs in the necropolis (*p hr*), and the other on the charge of damaging[7] and robbing certain repositories (probably not buildings) known as Corridor-Houses.

(*b*) That it contains no more than fragments of the records of either trial.

(*c*) That there is no evidence to show that the Corridor-Houses and the "Forty Houses" are tombs or parts of tombs at all, and that in any case they have nothing to do with the well-known tombs of Ramesses II and Sethos I in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes.

(*a*) *Composite nature of the document.*

The papyrus clearly falls into seven sections as follows:—

Section I. Pages 1. 1 to 1. 7.

Introductory to Sections II and IV dealing with the Corridor-Houses. Contains date, heading, and list of the Court.

[1] *Ancient Records*, iv, p. 268. [2] *History of Egypt*, iii, p. 185. [3] *Op. cit.*, iii, p. 181. [4] *Op. cit.*, iii, p. 185.
[5] *Life in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1894), p. 137. [6] *History of Egypt*, iii, p. 183. [7] Perhaps included in the meaning of *krt hrw*.

Section II. Pages 1. 8 to 3. 5.

Headed: "Trial." Contains evidence relating to the Corridor-Houses alone.

Section III. Pages 3. 6 to 5. end.

Dated 17th day of the fourth month of the summer, and headed: "Trial of the rest of the thieves of the necropolis."

Section IV. Pages 6. 1 to 7. 3.

Headed: "Trial of the rest of the thieves of the Corridor-House." Clearly a continuation of Section II.

Section V. Pages 8. 1 to 9. end.

Dated 15th day of the —th month of summer, and headed: "Renewed examination of the thieves." The contents and the names of persons concerned show that this section deals with the same events as Section III.

Section VI. Page 10.

Deals, as the references to Bukhaʿef show, with the same matters as Sections III and V.

Section VII. Pages 11 to 13.

Contains eight lists with records of the fate of certain of the malefactors. Two of these lists (numbered A 1 and A 2 in the translation) are definitely stated to be concerned with the thieves of the Corridor-House. The other six (numbered B 1 to B 6) deal with the thieves of the necropolis. In one case this is explicitly stated, and in the other five it is an obvious inference from the comparison of contents and names with those of the other lists and of Sections III, V and VI.

From this summary it will be evident that the papyrus consists of two different sets of documents:—

Group A. Sections I, II, IV, and the lists A 1 and A 2 of Section VII, dealing with damage done to or robberies in (both perhaps included under the phrase *ỉrt ḥꜣw*) one or more Corridor-Houses. The few stolen objects mentioned are all of copper.

Group B. Sections III, V and VI, together with the lists B 1 to B 6 of VII, dealing with tomb-robberies in the necropolis (*pꜣ ḫr*). The charges are mainly those of having "been in the places" (*nꜣ ỉśwt*) or of having received stolen goods, usually silver, more rarely gold, or of having been in some minor way connected with the thefts or thieves. The tombs robbed are presumably those of Queens Nesmut and Bekurel, together with a third, the name of whose owner never transpires in these records (see 4. 2–4).

That these two groups of documents are mutually exclusive is abundantly clear from the examination of the names of thieves and suspects contained in the two. Thus not a single name which occurs in Group A ever occurs in Group B, with one exception, that of Paynḥasy, who, as is clear from the Abbott dockets now to be described, was implicated in both cases.

A still more striking proof of the correctness of this division of the papyrus into two groups of documents is afforded by a comparison with the two documents on the *verso* of the Abbott Papyrus alluded to above, which undoubtedly record the original reports which led to both trials.

The first (Docket 1) is dated in the first month of the inundation, day 2, and headed: "Copy of the record of the thieves of the necropolis and of the thieves of the Corridor-Houses laid before Pharaoh by the Prince Peḥowtemaʿ (?)."[1] Below is a list of ten names, followed by a further list of five names headed separately: "The thieves of the Corridor-Houses." As the whole list purports to give the thieves of both the necropolis and the Corridor-Houses we are almost certainly justified in assuming that the first part of the list, consisting of ten names, gives the thieves of the necropolis.

[1] The reading Pauro, given by Spiegelberg and accepted by Breasted, is almost impossible on palaeographical grounds.

The second list (Docket 2) is dated in the following month, day 25. It is entitled "Copy of the record of the thieves of the necropolis handed over to the Vizier Nebmaʿrēʿnakht by the Prince Peḥowtemaʿ (?)." There follows a list of thirty-three persons, of whom nine, possibly ten, occur in the list of the previous month, one of these in the group of thieves of the Corridor-Houses and the rest in the earlier part of the list.

Now it is perfectly clear from these dockets that two separate crimes had been committed, one in relation to Corridor-Houses and the other in relation to the necropolis. Docket 1 gives the names of some of the thieves connected with each crime, keeping them carefully distinct, while Docket 2 gives only thieves of the necropolis, some of whom had already been mentioned in Docket 1.

A comparison of the names in these dockets with those of Mayer A leads to very interesting results. Of the five thieves of the Corridor-Houses mentioned in Docket 1 all appear in Mayer A, but only in those sections and lists which deal with the Corridor-Houses. There is a single exception in the foreigner Paynḥasy, for the very simple reason that, as Docket 2 shows, he was implicated in both crimes. Of the ten thieves of the necropolis named in this docket no fewer than nine occur in Mayer A, and these exclusively in the sections and lists of Group B, which refer to the thefts in the necropolis.

Passing now to Docket 2 we find that of the thirty-three names contained in the docket under the heading: "The thieves of the necropolis" twenty-three, possibly twenty-four, occur in Mayer. Of these twenty-two are found, as we should have expected, only in the sections and lists of Group B. The other name, that of Paynḥasy the foreigner, a priest of Sebek of Perʿonkh, and son of That, is of particular interest since it occurs in both the Abbott dockets, in No. 1 as a thief of the Corridor-House, and in No. 2 as a thief of the necropolis. Accordingly we find that in Mayer A this man occurs in both groups of documents. In 1. 12–13 he is concerned in the matter of the Corridor-House, and in 13 C. 12 his wife is mentioned as having been arrested along with other wives of thieves of the necropolis. In Pap. B.M. 10054, *verso*, 4. 4 we actually have the examination of this woman in connection with certain silver received by her husband.

Thus the evidence of the Abbott dockets completely justifies our division of the documents comprised in Mayer A into two distinct groups, dealing with the Corridor-Houses and the necropolis respectively.

(*b*) *Incomplete nature of the document.*

That the Mayer Papyrus does not contain the whole of the proceedings of either trial will be manifest to any careful reader, so much so that of the mass of evidence which proves it we need only quote a few of the more striking points.

A.—The Corridor-House Trial.

1. Of the five thieves of the Corridor-Houses recorded by List B of the Abbott docket the actual evidence given in Mayer A concerns only three, the other two, the priest Thanūfer and Sebeknakht being only mentioned in the lists of Section VII.

2. The list of 11. 1–16 details fourteen "thieves of the Corridor-House of Pharaoh." Of these only six are referred to elsewhere in the papyrus, and these merely in the list of 13 A. Thus the papyrus preserves none of the evidence concerning them (see below, p. 9).

3. The list of 13 A is headed: "Depositions of the thieves of the *pr-n-st*; in month 2, day 10." What follows is not a series of depositions as we should expect, but merely a list of the fourteen persons who made the depositions. If the depositions were recorded it was not on this papyrus.

4. Of the six thieves inculpated by the evidence of the chief of police Nesamūn and of Paykamen one, Paynḥasy, is never examined in Mayer A, nor, in the case of his being dead, is any son or wife examined in his stead.[1]

5. We never learn the fate of the thieves.

[1] As a matter of fact his wife is examined in Pap. B.M. 10054.

B.—The Necropolis Trial.

1. Section III, the first portion of the papyrus which deals with the thefts from the necropolis, is headed: "Trial of the rest of the thieves." Therefore some of them had already been tried.

2. Section V, the next portion dealing with this trial, is entitled: "Repeated (*i.e.* second) trial of the thieves." None of the men whose examination is recorded in the section figured in Section III, therefore they had been tried previously and the papyrus does not record the proceedings.

3. In 4. 13 and 4. 15 two persons are stated to have been tried "in consequence of the deposition of the slave Degay." In 4. 18 Degay is summoned and questioned with regard to this deposition, the two suspects having denied the truth of his accusation. The original deposition of Degay is not recorded in the papyrus.

4. In 4. 2–4 Bukha^{c}ef is asked to "tell the other tombs which thou didst open." He mentions the tombs of Queens Nesmut and Bekurel and adds, "Total three." The name of the third tomb is taken for granted here, and nowhere transpires in the papyrus, an obvious indication that we have not the whole proceedings before us.

5. The list of 12. 1–8 contains the names of six men called: "The thieves of the necropolis examined and found to have been in the places." Of these six, three, Bukha^{c}ef, Degay and Perpethew are in this papyrus only examined on small points affecting the complicity of others, and their main examination is not recorded. A fourth, Efenmonth, is only questioned on the matter of the ferrying over of the thieves, and the other two, Shedsukhons and Nesamūn, both incense-roasters, appear nowhere else in the papyrus.

(c) The papyrus does not deal with the tombs of Sethos I and Ramesses II.

With regard to the *pr-n-st* or *prw-st* two points arise. Firstly, what is the nature of a *pr-n-st*? and secondly, to what *pr-n-st* or *prw-st* does the papyrus refer?

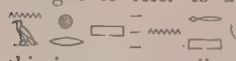
Let us first attempt to dispose of the second point. This can only be done by examining the references to *pr-n-st* in the papyrus. We may, however, begin by noting that the *pr-n-st* is quite distinct from the *ḫr* or necropolis. This is clear both from the title and contents of Abbott Docket 1 and from the Mayer Papyrus itself. One passage in the latter is particularly enlightening. In 10. 21 is brought in the "scribe of the army Ḥori, son of Efnamūn, on behalf of his father, who they said was in the *ḫr* as well as in (at?) the *pr-n-st* (*m p ḫr ḥn^{c} m p pr-n-st*)." From this it results that the *pr-n-st* was not in the same place as the *ḫr*, *i.e.* was not a part of the necropolis.

Turning now to those portions of the papyrus which deal with the *pr-n-st*, called above Group A, we find the following references. 1. 1–2: "Examination of the thieves of the *pr-n-st* of Ramesses II and of the 'Forty Houses' of Sethos I which lay (singular or plural, late Egyptian does not distinguish the number of the participle) in the treasury of the temple of Ramesses III," *i.e.* the temple of Medinet Habu. These, then, are the places attacked by the six plunderers, who had been caught in the act by the chief of police, Nesamūn. In 1. 10 Paykamen, one of the men so caught, is bidden to tell the story of his going with his confederates, "and you did violence to the *prw-st* of the kings, which lay in the treasury of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu." Combining this with the last passage and with 1. 4, where the plural *prw-st* occurs in a similar context to that of 1. 10, it would appear not improbable that the "Forty Houses" of Sethos I were also *prw-st*, or, if not, together constituted a single *pr-n-st*. The chief of police Nesamūn now gives his evidence, and tells how he captured the thieves "who had gone to do violence to this *pr-n-st*," meaning either that of Ramesses II, or the "Forty Houses" of Sethos I, if we be right in supposing that this could be described as a *pr-n-st*.[1] The rest of Section II deals exclusively with the thieves of "this *pr-n-st*" (1. 23; 2. 3; 2. 13; 2. 19; 3. 4), which certainly means the *pr-n-st* at which the thieves had been caught.

The next reference is in the heading of Section IV: "Examination of the rest of the thieves of the *pr-n-st*" (6. 1). There are in the section two references to "this *pr-n-st*."

Finally, in Section VII the list of 11. 1–16 is headed: "List of the thieves of the *pr-n-st* of Pharaoh," and the list of 13 A: "Deposition of the thieves of the *pr-n-st* in month 2, day 10."

[1] Note that in 1. 4 the plural *prw-st* is used in describing this same incident.

From these references and from a close examination of all the sections and lists of Group A it would appear that the whole of the evidence given relates solely to one *pr-n-st*, namely that at which Nesamūn caught the thieves. At the same time it is clear from Abbott Docket 1 that more than one *pr-n-st* had been attacked, and this is perhaps corroborated by Mayer A 1. 4 and 1. 10, though these are the only passages in the papyrus where the plural occurs. The heading of the list of 11. 1-16: "List of the thieves of the *pr-n-st* of Pharaoh" might be thought to refer to a different *pr-n-st*, namely that of the reigning Pharaoh; but a comparison with 4. 16 (where  must surely mean "the royal tombs," not "tombs of the living Pharaoh") will show that this is not necessarily the case. It must not be overlooked, however, that not a single one of the names of the six men captured by Nesamūn occurs in the two *pr-n-st* lists of Mayer A, whereas they do contain two of the names of the *prw-st* portion of Abbott Docket 1, namely, the priest Thanūfer and Sebeknakht, precisely those two out of the Abbott list which do not occur in the *pr-n-st* sections of Mayer A. It is therefore possible that the two *pr-n-st* lists of Mayer A deal with an entirely different *pr-n-st* from that of the Sections I, II and IV.

The conclusions to which we are thus led may be summed up as follows:—

1. Sections II and IV relate solely to a single *pr-n-st*, that at which Nesamūn caught the six thieves. This was either the *pr-n-st* of Ramesses II or, less probably, the "Forty Houses" of Seti I, if the latter, as seems not impossible, can be described as a *pr-n-st*.

2. The two lists of 11. 1-16 and 13 A possibly refer to a different *pr-n-st*, none of the evidence concerning which has been preserved to us. As this *pr-n-st* is described as that of Pharaoh, it is not impossible that it is that of the reigning king, though the translation "royal *pr-n-st*" is not inadmissible.

3. The use of the plural in the Abbott docket makes it clear that at least two *prw-st* had been robbed. One of these is clearly that of Ramesses II, dealt with in the evidence of Sections II and IV. The other may be either the "Forty Houses" of Seti I, or the "*pr-n-st* of Pharaoh" mentioned in the list 11. 1-16.

It is now necessary to discuss the nature of a *pr-n-st*. It has hitherto been assumed that it was a tomb, partly from the fact that Papyrus Mayer A obviously dealt in part with tomb-robberies, partly because *st* is used of the long passage of a royal tomb. The assumption is certainly wrong.

The noun *st* possessed a technical sense in Egyptian architecture. Derived from the verb *st* "to drag," it stood for a place or surface over which anything was or could be dragged, and hence its two most common meanings are "passage" or "corridor," and "ramp." The idea of slope associated with it in this latter meaning, and not seldom in the former, does not appear to be essential. Thus, the region of the dead presided over by Osiris and Anubis is called *R-st-w*, Rosta'u, "Place of Passages," this mythological underground world being regarded by the Egyptians as a complex of landways and waterways. One of the doorways of this place bears the name *imnt st-w*, "Hidden of Passages." In these instances the idea of slope is probably absent. In some of the common uses of the word it is undoubtedly present. Thus, the sloping corridor leading down into a royal tomb is called *st ntr*, "The Divine Passage,"[1] and the sarcophagus slide, a passage cut below the level of the floor and leading down into the burial-chamber is, in the tomb of Ramesses IV, called *r st*.[2] In these cases the passage is regarded as leading downwards. In Piankhi 91 the word is used of a ramp constructed in order to surmount the walls of a besieged city, and the details of the first mathematical problem of Pap. Anastasi I (14. 2-8) make it clear that there too a ramp is intended. Applying this to the compound *pr-n-st* we should get the translation: "House of a passage," where the word *n* is probably descriptive rather than partitive or possessive.

The internal evidence of the papyrus with regard to the nature of the *pr-n-st* does not bear out this translation. In the first place it is clear from 1. 1-2 and 1. 10 that one or more *prw-st* lay in "the treasury (*pr-ḥd*) of the temple of Ramesses III" at Medinet Habu, and the wall-reliefs make it clear that this treasury is to be identified with the group of chambers surrounding the Hall of Columns.[3] This consideration alone is sufficient to dispose of the old view, that the *pr-n-st* of Ramesses II and the Forty Houses of Sethos I were the tombs of these monarchs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.

[1] *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, iv, p. 145, and Daressy, *Ostraca*, Pl. xxxii, no. 25184.

[2] *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, iv, p. 137.

[3] Murray, *Handbook for Egypt*, 1907, pp. 423 and 425. See, too, Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, i, 30–34; Champollion, *Notes descriptives*, i, 365–6.

In 2. 4-5 the herdsman Ḳer states that he was guarding some corn: "I was just going down, and I heard the sound of the men, they being in this treasury." Putting his eye to the crack he sees two of the *pr-n-st:* thieves, who then come out and offer him objects of copper, clearly stolen. In 6. 21-25 ʿAnefsu gives almost identical evidence. He also uses the words "as I was going down," but for *r:-ḥd* he substitutes *wḏ:*. Unfortunately this tells us nothing definite. In the first place, we do not know where these men were before they "went down," and in the second place we are not justified in assuming that the *r:-ḥd* or *wḏ:*, in which the two thieves then were, is identical with or near to the *pr-n-st:* which they robbed. They may have left the *pr-n-st:* and been now examining their plunder elsewhere.

The only other passage which might throw light on our problem is the extremely obscure evidence of Ḥowtenūfer in 6. 3 ff. This man had been accused by Nesamūn, son of Paybeki (2. 13), of being "inside this place in which this *pr-n-st:* is." In his defence he states that at a certain period of civil disturbance, apparently during his forcible detention elsewhere, "..... this *pr-n-st:* was violated and set on fire." When order was restored certain officials "said, Let us collect the wood and so the prison-slaves will not set fire to it. And they gathered in the remainder and put a seal on it, and it is safe to this day. Now as for this place in which the remainder of this *pr-n-st:* lies . . . . ." It is difficult to avoid the implication that the wood which was collected was the remains of the *pr-n-st:*, which had been partially burnt. In this way alone can sense be made of the phrase, "this place in which the remainder of this *pr-n-st:* lies." If this is the case, it would seem to follow that the *pr-n-st:* was in part at least made of wood.

In the light of these passages Gardiner conjectures that *pr-n-st:* should be translated literally "house of dragging," *i.e.* "portable house (or receptacle)," and that it was not a building at all, but a movable wooden chest in which valuables were stored. This is undoubtedly right, and the simplest and best translation of the word would perhaps be "Treasure-Chest."

4. Translation.

Section I. Page 1. 1 *to* 1. 7.

1. 1. Year 1 in the Renaissance, fourth month of the summer season, day 15. On this day, trial of the thieves of the Corridor-House of King Usimaʿrēʿ Setpenrēʿ, the great god, and of the "Forty Houses" of King Menmaʿrēʿ Sethos, which lay in the treasury of the Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimaʿrēʿ Miamūn, whom the chief of police Nesamūn had denounced according to their roll-call,[1] it being he who was standing there
1. 5. with the thieves when they laid their hands upon the Corridor-Houses; whose feet and hands were flogged in examination in order to cause them to tell exactly what they did; by the mayor and vizier Nebmaʿrēʿnakht, by the overseer of the double treasury and overseer of the double granary Menmaʿrēʿnakht, by the steward and . . . . . Yenes, fanbearer of Pharaoh, and by the steward and royal butler Pmiamūn, the scribe of Pharaoh.

Section II. Pages 1. 8 *to* 3. 5.

1. 8. Trial. The foreigner Paykamen was brought, who is under the overseer of the cattle of Amūn. An oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What was the manner of your going with the men who were with you, and you violated the Corridor-Houses of the kings, which lay in the treasury of the Temple of King Usimaʿrēʿ Miamūn? He said, I went with the priest Tasheri, son of the divine father of the temple Ḥori, the scribe Pabeki, son of Nesamūn of this temple, the foreigner Nesmonth of the temple of Month, Lord of Hermonthis, the foreigner Panḥasy (*sic*), son of That, who was a priest of Sobk of Perʿonkh, and Taty, a man belonging to Paynḥasy, the son of That, who was a priest of Sobk of Perʿonkh; total six.
1. 13. The chief of police Nesamūn was brought. They said to him, What was the manner of your finding the men? He said, I heard that the men had gone to do violence to this Corridor-House, and I went and I found precisely these six men whom the thief Paykamen has mentioned. And I bear witness against them this day. The chief of police Amen . . . . . y (?) said, Pakharu, son of Takharu, is an accomplice.

[1] Cf. 12. 12. Also Louvre 3169, 5-6; Vienna Pap. 30, 2. 11; Pap. Abbott, 4-9.

1. 17. The herdsman the thief Paykamen of the temple of Amūn, under the overseer of the cattle of Amūn, was examined by beating with the stick; the bastinado (?) was given very severely upon his feet; an oath was administered to him, on pain of mutilation, not to speak falsehood. He said, What I said is exactly what I did. He admitted it in his deposition (?), saying, I did what [I] did being one [of] these six men, and I took a . . . . . from them and appropriated it.

1. 21. The foreigner the thief Nesmonth was brought. He was examined by beating with the stick, and the bastinado (?) was given upon his feet and his hands; an oath was administered to him, on pain of mutilation, not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What was the manner of your going to do violence to this (?) Corridor-House with your companions? He said, I went and found these five men, I being the sixth. I took a . . . . . from them (?) and appropriated it.

2. 1. There was brought the herdsman Ḳer of the temple of Amūn, who [is a] foreigner. He was examined with the stick, and the bastinado (?) was given upon his feet and his hands; an oath was administered to him, on pain of mutilation, not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What was the manner of your going with those
2. 4. confederates of yours,[1] and ye did violence to this Corridor-House? He said, The foreigner Payḥeny took me[2] and put me to guard some corn, and I filled a sack with . . . . . grain. I was just coming down and I heard the sound of the men, they being in this treasury.[3] I put my eye to the hole (?) and I saw Pabeki and Tasheri within. I called to him (*sic*) saying, Come. He came out to me with two rings of copper in his hand. He gave them to me, and I gave him one and a half *khar* of spelt in exchange for them. I took one of them, and I gave one to the foreigner ʿAnefsu.

2. 10. The priest Nesamūn, son of Paybeki, was brought on account of his father. He was examined by beating with the stick. They said to him, Tell the manner of thy father's going with the men who were with him. He said, My father was indeed there, when I was a little child, and I have no knowledge of what he did. He was
2. 13. examined (again) and said, I saw the workman Ḥowtenūfer within, in this place in which the Corridor-House was, along with the herdsman Nūfer, son of Senur, and the artisan Untehuy, son of Ḥowte, total three. These are precisely the ones whom I saw. If (??)[4] gold was concerned they are the ones who know. He was examined with the stick. He said, These three men are precisely those whom I saw.

2. 17. There was brought the weaver Wennakht, son of Taty of the temple. He was examined by beating with the stick. The bastinado (?) was given on his feet and his hands; an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, Now tell the manner of thy father's going when he did violence to this Corridor-House along with his companions. He said, My father was killed when I was a child, and my mother said to me, The chief of police Nesamūn gave some . . . . . of copper to thy father, and behold the troop-captains of the foreigners killed thy father and took me for trial; Nesamūn took the copper which he had given to me; it lies . . . . .

3. 1. The citizeness Inneri, the wife of the priest Tasheri, son of Ḥori, was brought. She was examined by beating with the stick; the bastinado (?) was given upon her feet and her hands; an oath was administered to her not to speak falsehood. They said to her, What was the manner of your husband's going and breaking open this Corridor-House and bringing away the copper thence? (She) said, He brought away some copper which belonged to this Corridor-House. We traded with it and spent it.

Section III. Pages 3. 6 *to* 5. *end.*

3. 6. Fourth month of the summer season, day 17. The trial of the rest[5] of the thieves of the necropolis.

3. 7. The prison-slave Amenkhēw, son of Sepdmōse (?), was brought. He was brought as an heir (?) on account of the watchman Pauro, son of Ḳauy. He was examined by beating; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); an

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[1] See Gardiner's article in *Zeitschr. für ägt. Sprache*, 50 (1912), pp. 114–7. The present is the only known example in which the noun is preceded by the definite article.

[2] Read *tỉy wỉ* (?).

[3] For *r-ḥḏ* cf. Pap. Harris, *e.g.* 46. 6; 48. 2.

[4] For an idiomatic and obscure use of *in-n* cf. below, 8. 8; also Abbott, 6. 2; Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, 2. 12, 3. 16; Pap. Leyden 370, *recto*, ll. 7–8; *verso*, ll. 8 and 14.

[5] Cf. 4. 9; 6. 1, 11 and 12. The meaning "rest" seems certain from these passages. An unpublished account papyrus at Turin, *verso*, 1. 21b, has an exact parallel to 4. 9. Cf. also Pap. Leyden 370, *recto*, 13.

oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. His deposition was heard. The Court said, As for him, he is his[1] wife's brother; let him not be brought against him. He was released and set at liberty.

3. 10 The herdsman Nesamūn, son of Tatu, was brought. He was examined by beating with the stick; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood.

3. 12. The workman Paykharu the younger, (son of) Amenemḥab, of the temple of Khons, belonging to Amenope (?). He was again examined by beating with the stick; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. He was found to be innocent of the thefts[2] and set at liberty.

3. 15. There was brought the sailor Amenḥotpe, son of Iryʿō, of the temple of Amūn, under the chief priest of Amūn. He was again examined with the stick; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. He was found innocent of the thefts[2] and set at liberty.

3. 18. There was brought the butcher Pennestytauy, son of Bes, the herald[3] Perpethew having said, I heard that he was in the places,[4] though I did not see him with my eye. He was examined by beating with the stick; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What was the manner of your going with Bukhaʿef to the places in which Perpethew this herald says you were

3. 22. with him? He said, It is false; I did not see (it). The herald Perpethew was brought. They said to him, What have you to say? (He) said, This man is the accomplice of Bukhaʿef; he stole an ox belonging to the elder of the gate Ḥowte along with him and with the Controller of Serḳet Amenkhēw, son of Ḥori. Then said the Court, Let Bukhaʿef be brought. The herdsman Bukhaʿef was brought. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, He was not with me at all; what is this about[5] seeing him with Amenkhēw, the son of Ḥori, and with

4. 1. Nesamūn, the son of ʿAzdy. . . . . ! What is this about going with him! He never went. He was again examined by beating with the stick. They said to him, Come, tell the other places which you opened. He said, I opened this tomb of the Royal Wife Nesmut. He said, It was I who opened this tomb (of) the Royal Wife Bekurel of King Menmaʿrēʿ; total three. The vizier said to him, Come (tell) me where you put this silver. He said, I went

4. 5. before the . . . . . when Paynḥasy made the . . . . . and the attendant Nesoshefit, this man who was steward, seized my house. He took away three *deben* of silver and 150 *deben* of copper in the form of vessels, and five yokes (?), and eighteen *rwd*-garments[6] of Upper Egyptian cloth, and two *dˁw*-garments[7] of coloured (?) cloth, and eight *knt*, and one *ḏ:y*-garment[8] of coloured (?) cloth, and one *deben* of gold, and thirty *deben* of beaten copper and one

4. 8. necklace (?) of fine gold, weighing three *kite*. The citizeness Isty, the wife of the workman Ker, (took away) one *deben* of silver; she gave me back two *kite* of silver. Remainder in her possession, eight *kite*. The daughter of the foreigner Efnamūn, son of Tasetdhout, (took) five *kite* of silver. . . . . (?) this daughter of (?)[9] the gold-worker Efenmut (took) two *deben*, for it was he who . . . . . (?) for us and divided in fair division with us again (?). Said Oshefitemwēse, As for the things which Bukhaʿef says belong to Mutsatu his sister, she gave them to the steward.

4. 12. There was brought the slave Amenpaythew of the attendant Inuneferamūn of the chief priest of Amūn. He was examined by beating with the stick, an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood, in consequence of the deposition of the slave Degay. He said, I saw nothing; let someone be brought to accuse me.

4. 15. There was brought the brand-bearer Ḥowtenūfer, under the Royal Son of Kush, in consequence of what the slave Degay had said. He was examined by beating with the stick; his feet and hands were fettered (?); an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What have you to say concerning the tombs of Pharaoh[10] which you robbed? He said, It is false; I did not see (them). Let the inspectors of Thebes be brought . . . . . I live on a little meal (?) together with a few rags. The slave Degay was brought. They said to

4. 18. him, What have you to say about [the testimony?] of Ḥowtenūfer, this man who you said was in the places. He

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[1] *i.e.*, Pauro's.

[2] Literally "thieves."

[3] *ḏd m šnb*, variant *ʿš m šnb*, see Spiegelberg in *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, 53, pp. 91–2. Gardiner conjectures the title to mean "he who speaks (or calls) with the (speaking-)trumpet," *i.e.*, not a musician but a herald.

[4] *i.e.*, the royal tombs. Cf. Abbott *passim*.

[5] An idiom known only from this papyrus (cf. 6. 15–16; 9. 2; 9. 4). It seems to introduce an indignant rhetorical question.

[6] Cf. Mayer B, 14; Pap. Mallet, 1. 9, 1. 13, 2. 1; Pap. Turin, Pleyte and Rossi, 51. 3, 51. 5; 72; Turin account pap. unpublished, *verso*, 1. 15.

[7] Cf. Mayer B, 13, and see the full discussion in *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, 49, pp. 106–116.

[8] Cf. below 5. 13; *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, 43, p. 35, l. 6; 43, p. 37, l. 16 (*ḏ:t*); Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 7. 11 (*ḏ:t*); Pap. Turin, 72; Turin account pap. unpublished, *verso*, 1. 14; Pap. Harris, 63a. 7, &c.

[9] Cf. Pap. Abbott, 8a. 26.

[10] Surely "royal tombs" simply, though *pr-ʿ* almost always refers to the reigning king. For another possible exception, see 11. 2.

said, I did not see (him); as for (??) going with him to the . . . . . He was found innocent of the thefts; he was set at liberty.

4. 21. There was brought the builder Wenamūn of the temple of Amūn, under the chief priest of Amūn. He was examined by beating with the stick; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. He was again examined and found innocent of the thefts. He was set at liberty.

5. 1. There was brought the slave the workman Paynekhenōpe belonging to the workman Ker of the tomb-chapel of I . . . . . He was examined by beating with the stick; an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, Speak[1] (concerning) Beki, the son of Paynebtiut (?), who was in the places. His deposition was heard against the female slave Tarepymeḥ, her son Amennestytauynakht, and the slave the weaver Woserḥatnakht. He said, The citizeness Zat, my sister, gave 100 *khar* of spelt, and the inspector Khery who is in her house (gave) 100 *khar* of spelt.

5. 9. There was brought the fisherman Pawenenōpe belonging to the Prince of Thebes. He was examined by beating with the stick; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What was the manner of your ferrying over the thieves whom you ferried over? He said, (I) ferried the thieves over and they gave me a *khar* of spelt and two loaves. It was found (?) that two *kite* of gold had been given him; he gave them up.

5. 13. There was brought the slave Pnuferʿaḥe, it having been said that he washed a *ḏ:y*-garment of fine Upper Egyptian cloth (received ??) from Amenkhēw and Mutemḥab, they having said (?) it belongs to Pharaoh. . . . . He is in the hands of the Court.

5. 15. There was brought the doorkeeper Dḥuthotpe of the temple of Amūn.

5. 16. There was brought the herdsman Nesamūn of the temple of Amūn, under the overseer of the cattle of Amūn. He was examined by beating with the stick; an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, You were dwelling with Ihumeḥ, this brother of Efnamūn who was a troop-captain, and you were with him in the places. He said, It is false. I did not see him; I did not go with him. He was examined by beating with the stick; his feet and his hands were fettered (?); he was found innocent of the thefts and set at liberty.

Section IV. Pages 6. 1 to 7. 3.

6. 1. The examination of the rest of the thieves of the Corridor-House. Nesamūn (the son of) Paybeki said, I saw Ḥowtenūfer and Untehuy and the herdsman Nūfer; let them be brought.

6. 3. There was brought the workman Ḥowtenūfer, son of Amenkhēw. An oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. His deposition was heard. He said, The foreigners came and took possession of the temple while I was in charge of some asses belonging to my father. Pahati, a foreigner, seized me and took me to Ipip. Now violence was done to Amenḥotpe, who was chief priest of Amūn, for six months. Now when five months of days were accomplished of the violence which was done (?) to Amenḥotpe, who was chief priest of Amūn, then this

6. 9. Corridor-House was violated and it was set on fire. But when order was restored (?) the Prince of the West of Thebes and the scribe of the army Pasmennakht and the scribe of the army Ḳashuty said, Let us collect the wood, and so the prison-slaves will not set fire to it. They gathered in the rest and set a seal upon it, and it is intact to this day. But as for this place in which the rest[2] of this Corridor-House is, the wood of the furnace of the workmen is lying there, and it happened that I went there to take out wood. He said, Let him who informed

6. 14. against me be brought. There was brought Nesamūn the son of Paybeki. They said to him, What have you to say concerning these three men of whom you spoke? He said, See them hastening to this place . . . . . ! What is this about?[3] See them opening this seal! I never saw them opening this seal. I said it from fear. Ḥowtenūfer was brought (back). They said to him, You did go to this storehouse. He said, What lies in the storehouse is some wood and charcoal of the temple property, I having placed it there in order to preserve (*sic*) this seal.

[1] Or perhaps "Beki, the son of Payneb said, It was you who were in the places," *tiwt* being for the old *ṯwt*. This leaves the prosthetic aleph of *ỉdd* unaccounted for.

[2] Apparently the Corridor-House consisted in part of wood. The words "the rest" must refer to the wood which escaped the fire and was stored away for safety.

[3] Cf. 3. 26 and note; 9. 2; 9. 4.

6. 20. The foreigner ʿAnefsu was brought. An oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. His deposition was heard. He said, I was sitting guarding some corn with the foreigner Ḳer. Now behold I went down and I found the priest Tasheri and the scribe Pabeki standing knocking (?) in the storehouse. I saw their faces from the hole (?) of the door. They brought me two rings . . . . . ; they gave them to me and to Ḳer. I gave him (*sic*) one and a half *khar* of spelt and half a quadruple *ḥeḳat* of . . . . . grain in exchange for them. I saw nothing further.

7. 1. There was brought the [slave] Woserḥatnakht. They said to him, What have you to say? What of your brother (?) who the . . . . . Paynakht says is lying in your charge? He said, He is in the charge of the slave Pay . . . . . amūn; let him be brought; he is in the district (?) of Pawēr.

Section V. Pages 8. 1 *to* 9. *end.*

8. 1. Year 2 in the Renaissance, [—th month] of the summer season, day 15. Renewed examination of the thieves.

8. 2. There was brought the priest Pewōnesh, son of Amenḥotpe, of the temple of Mut. He was again examined with the stick; an oath was administered to him, on pain of mutilation, not to speak falsehood. They said to him, When you were standing [before] the Court previously they said to you, Tell the manner of your going;

8. 6. but you did not tell . . . . ., not knowing that what your hand did would fall (?). Painful are the examinations which they will make of you, your hand being sore (on account of?) what you shall do. He said, I saw nothing. They have calumniated[1] (me) on account of a house of mine. He was again examined by beating with the stick in an extremely severe beating. He said, I saw nothing. . . . . He was examined again. He was imprisoned in order that he might be examined again.

8. 14. The brewer Nesprēʿ was brought. He was examined by beating with the stick; an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. They said to him, Come tell me the history of the *deben* of gold which you gave to the priest of Month in exchange for this *ḏsr*-garment, and of these four *deben* of silver which you gave . . . . . Taybeki. He said, I will tell the history of them, and if falsehood is found in it may I be placed on the wood.[2] I bought them from the Meshwesh.[3] And I acquired the *deben* of gold from Nesamūn and Pageb . . . . ., along with Ḥori the son of Suʿa . . . . .

8. 16. There was brought the scribe of the army ʿAnkhefenamūn, son of Ptaḥemḥab. He was examined by beating with the stick; the bastinado (?) was given on his feet and his hands; an oath was administered to him, on pain of mutilation, not to speak falsehood. They said to him, Tell the manner of your going to the places with your brother. He said, Let a witness be brought to accuse me. He was again examined. He said, I saw nothing. He was placed under arrest in order to be examined (again).

8. 20. The sailor Khensmōse, son of Payinozem, was brought. They said to him, Tell the manner of your going to fetch away this silver. He was examined by beating with the stick. He said, I heard, when I was imprisoned with the prison-slave Efenmonth, that silver had been given to Nesprēʿ in exchange for beer. He was examined by a severe beating and placed under arrest.

8. 23. There was brought the prison-slave Efenmonth of the temple of Month, Lord of Hermonthis. They said to him, What have you to say regarding the statement of the sailor Nesamūn, who ferried you over to this side with your accomplices, and who will (?) come to accuse you? You said, Let someone be brought to accuse me. The sailor Nesamūn was then brought and accused him. He said, It was I who ferried him over together with the herdsman Ihumeḥ. He was examined again and placed under arrest.

9. a. Charge[4] against (?) Nesamūn, son of . . . iryʿō, together with (?) Ḳeni (?). Pakaempauba gave two staves of gold to a man. Charge concerning (?) the . . . . . of gold which he (??) said Nesamūn divided with him, though he did not give (them) to her (*sic*).

[1] Cf. 9. 4.

[2] For this punishment cf. 13 B. 1, and see SPIEGELBERG, *Studien und Materialien*, p. 77 and note 359.

[3] For the Meshwesh in the necropolis cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres*, pp. 15–17.

[4] The line numbered 9. a, which runs across the top of both pages 9 and 10, does not seem to fall into the context at the head of page 9. It is therefore necessary to suppose it to be a note added separately and perhaps later. It is written in a highly cursive style, and the trimming of the edge of the papyrus, doubtless in modern times, has shorn away the upper halves of the opening signs. For *ỉmỉ r* (if indeed this be the correct reading) cf. Abbott 8a. 22; Pap. Turin, Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. 57, *passim*.

9. 1. There was brought the . . . . . Dḥutemḥab of the temple of Month. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, Do not say to me, You were there. I forsooth![1] The brewer Panakhtemnē and ʿAzar and Penuzyt, a foreigner, who were . . . . . with (?) Efnamūn and Efenmonth and the herdsman Ihumeḥ and the foreigner Paynḥasy the younger will tell (??). I forsooth! Do not calumniate[2] me. He was examined and placed under arrest.

9. 5. There was brought the attendant Wenenamūn of the overseer of the cattle of Amūn. He was examined by beating with the stick; an oath was administered to him, on pain of mutilation, not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, As for him who gave me silver or who saw me,[3] let him accuse me. Verily I swear by Amūn my Lord. He was examined by beating with the stick and placed under arrest.

9. 9. The slave and water-carrier (??) Kerbaal was brought. An oath was administered to him, on pain of mutilation, not to speak falsehood. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, Menthsʿonkh (?)[4] seized the prison-slave Efenmonth and ʿAzar; he examined them saying, What did ye bring away from there? I did not see it with my eyes. He was examined by beating with the stick and placed under arrest.

9. 13. The scribe Tasheri was brought. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, two and a half *deben* of silver were given to me and behold there remain ten *kite*. But as for what they say let it be substantiated. He was examined and placed under arrest.

9. 15. The foreigner Sekhaḥētamūn was brought. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, All that my mouth uttered previously, that is what I shall (now) say. He was examined by beating with the stick. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, I gave some corn, three *khar*, to the artisan Sanūfer of the necropolis. He gave me two *kite* of silver. I took them to him saying, No (?),[5] but failed to find him (?). Now the herdsman Ihumeḥ came out and they placed loaves in a storehouse. And I listened to them as they stood quarrelling over a (piece of) silver saying, May I be put to confusion (?).[6] So said one to his fellow.

9. 20. There was brought the foreigner Paykamen of the land-survey of Amūn. He was examined by beating with the stick. He said, I did not see it. He was placed under arrest.

9. 22. There was brought the artisan Thewenany of the "Place of Truth." He was examined by beating with the stick. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, I saw nothing. He was examined with the stick and placed under arrest.

9. 24. There was brought the inspector Pairsekher who was a priest of Khons. He was examined by beating; an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. He said, Let there be brought a man to accuse me. He was examined again. He said, I saw nothing. He was examined with the stick and placed under arrest.

Section VI. Page 10.

10. 1. The men who were brought in . . . . .

10. 2. There was brought the overseer of peasants Akhenmenu. They said to him, What have you to say about this silver which Bukhaʿef says was given to you? He said, I received five *kite* of gold, and one *deben* of silver and two oxen from Bukhaʿef; and I received two *deben* of silver from Amenkhēw and Mutemḥab. Total in his possession, five *kite* of gold, three *deben* of silver and two oxen. He was released. The vizier said, Let this silver be given to us. He said, I will give it.

10. 8. There was brought Ḥowtenūfer son of Nekh, of the temple of Month, Lord of Zeru. He was examined by beating. They said to him, What have you to say. He said, I saw nothing. He was set at liberty.

10. 12. There was brought the herdsman Suʿaamūn of the temple of Amūn. He was examined by beating with the stick. He said, I saw nothing. He was set at liberty.

10. 15. The herdsman Pais was brought. He was examined with the stick; an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood. He was found innocent of the thefts and released.

10. 18. There was brought the servant Pekeny of the temple of Amūn. They said to him, What have you to say concerning this silver which Bukhaʿet gave to you? He said, I received these two *deben* of silver and I spent them. He was set at liberty.

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[1] Cf. 3. 26; 6. 15–16. [2] Cf. 8. 7. [3] Emend obviously *ptr wi*. [4] See note on transcription.
[5] Is this a short form of *m bi*? or an error for *bin* "bad"? [6] See GARDINER, *Admonitions*, note on 2. 11.

10. 21. There was brought the scribe of the army Ḥori, son of Efnamūn, on account of his father, they having said that he was in the necropolis and in the Corridor-House, though this man (i.e., Ḥori) did not go, he being a child. The Court said, Let his female slave Beki be taken to the necropolis. He was left in the hands of the overseer of the treasury.

10. 25. There was brought the attendant Pa . . . r . . . nakht. They said to him, What have you to say? He said, I saw nothing; let me be accused.

Section VII. Pages 11 *to* 13.

List A 1.

11. 1. Year 2, first month of the inundation season, day 13. The names of the thieves of the Corridor-House of Pharaoh :—

The scribe Dḥutmōse, son of Woserhēt.
The field-labourer Nesmonth of the temple of Month.
11. 5. The priest Ḥem (?), who is called Nesamūn.
The field-labourer Ḳer of the temple of Amūn.
The weaver Shedsukhnūm of the temple.
The groom ʿAnsunenamūn.
The weaver Wennakht.
11. 10. The field-labourer Paykharu.
The herdsman Paykamen.
The incense-roaster ʿAnkheriamf.
The priest Thanūfer.
[1]The attendant Payikeḥ.
11. 15. The . . . . . Paypin.
The citizeness Inneri.

List B 1.

11. 17. Men who were imprisoned in the first month of the inundation season, day 13 + *x* :—

The oil-boiler Pnūferʿaḥe.
The soldier Pentaur.
11. 20. The citizeness Payimettaur.
Manuʿainnimaʿet.
Mutemuia.
Herer.
Nesmut.
11. 25. Taʿanḥesti.

List B 2.

12. 1. The thieves of the necropolis who were examined and found to have been in the places :—

The thief the herdsman Bukhaʿef of the temple of Amūn, under the steward.
The thief the herald Perpethew of the temple of Amūn.
12. 5. The thief the incense-roaster Shedsukhons, ditto.
The thief the incense-roaster Nesamūn, who is called Thaiakhy.
The thief the prison-slave Efenmonth of the estate of Month, Lord of Hermonthis.
The thief the slave Degay. They did not seize . . . . . , but the scribe Dḥut . . . . . said he was there.
Total, six men.

[1] Before this title and name is written the path-sign (cf. 13 C. *passim*). Its meaning here is unknown. Perhaps "far away," *i.e.*, "escaped."

List B 3.

12. 9. Men who received some silver when they . . . . . though they did not go:—

The scribe Tasheri, son of Khaemwēse.
The singer of Buto, Pakaempauba. Total, [two] men.

List B 4.

12. 12. The name-list of the thieves who were brought from the place in which Pharaoh was and examined, though the thieves said they were not with them, and who went down stream:—

The scribe of the army ʿAnkhefenamūn, son of Ptahemḥab.
12. 15. The priest Pewōnesh, son of Amenḥotpe.
The priest Pairsekher of Khons the Contriver.
The attendant Wenenamūn of the overseer of the cattle of Amūn.
The prison-slave Dḥutemḥab of the estate of Month.
The sailor Khonsmōse, son of Paynozem.
12. 20. The sailor Paykharu, found (to be?) a sailor of(?) Nesamūn, it being he who ferried the thieves over.
The slave the water-carrier (??) Kerbaal.
The boatman Paykamen, son of Pauʿaamūn.
The artisan Thewenany of the "Place of Truth."
The foreigner Sekhahētamūn belonging to the merchant Paoemwēse.
12. 25. The brewer Nesprēʿaton (of) the roof of the temple of Amūn.
The chief doorkeeper Dḥuthotpe. He was brought before Pharaoh; he was not brought to us in writing.

List A 2.

13 A. 1. The depositions made by the thieves of the Corridor-House in the second month, day 10:—

Paypin.
ʿAnkheriamf.
Sebeknakht.
13 A. 5. Shedsukhnūm.
Thanūfer.
Paykharu.
Mabar.
Dḥutmōse.
13 A. 10. Tatut (?).
Ḥori, son of Iny.
Pasamut.
The two chiefs of police of the temple.
The overseer of prison-slaves Dḥutemḥab.
13 A. 15. Panūfer, the porter.
Penpawenḥor.
The artisan Pentaḥatnakht.
Wenenamūn, son of ʿOmerut, who . . . . .
Ḥori, son of Besnakht.
13 A. 20. Nesi.
Amenkhēw, son of Pennē.

List B 5.

13 B. 1. Thieves put to death upon the wood previously, seven men.
Thieves who were killed in the fight in the northern district, fifteen men.
Thieves whom Paynḥasy slew, three men; those who were . . . . ., two men; total, five men.
Those who were imprisoned and are alive and well, nineteen men.
13 B. 5. Thieves who fled, six men.
Those whose case was judged:—

[1] The soldier Pentaur of the troops of Kush.
[1] Pnūferʿaḥe.
Amenpaythew; he was set at liberty.
Pennestytauy; he was set at liberty.

List B 6.

13 C. 1. The women who were imprisoned:—

[2] The citizeness Nesmut, the wife of the herald Perpethew of the treasury of Pharaoh.
The citizeness Mutemuia, the wife of the scribe of the divine records Nesamūn, son of Kherhēt.
The citizeness Taʿanḥesti, the wife of Woserhatnakht of the treasury of Pharaoh.
13 C. 5. The citizeness Mutemḥab, the wife of the gold-worker Raʿmōse.
The citizeness Ḥerer, the wife of the watchman Paoemtaumt (of) the treasury of Pharaoh.
The citizeness Tanefery, his other wife, making two.
The citizeness Mutemuia, the wife of the watchman Pauro, son of Ḳauy (of) the treasury of Pharaoh.
The citizeness Manuʿainnimaʿet, the wife of the servant Kezer.
13 C. 10. The citizeness Ese, the wife of Kerbaal.
The citizeness Tayimettaur, the wife of the field-labourer Pais.
The citizeness Irynūfer, the wife of the *śrr* Paynḥasy son of That.

[1] These two names are each preceded by the *mn*-sign. Its meaning here is obscure.
[2] For the path-sign which precedes lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 10–12, see note on 11. 14.

PAPYRUS MAYER B

1. Description and Date.

Papyrus Mayer B is mounted on linen between two sheets of glass. From its being gummed or glued on to a linen backing we may fairly assume that it is not inscribed on the *verso*. Round the inscribed surface and preventing this from coming into contact with the upper piece of glass is a cardboard frame, like that usual in small pictures. The portion of the papyrus visible in the present mounting measures 404 mm. horizontally and 256 mm. vertically, but as there is clearly some margin of papyrus beneath the cardboard frame the dimensions of the papyrus are slightly greater than those given.[1] The inscription is on the face always used for preference by the Egyptian scribe, namely, that on which the main fibres of the papyrus strips run horizontally. The present mounting prevents any examination of the gumming.

The surface is of quite a good light brown tint, and the ink, where not damaged, is of a rich black. In fact, the whole gives at the first glance the impression of a well-preserved document, and one easy to decipher. In this, however, it is deceptive. In the first place, there are a certain number of small but complete gaps caused by the flaking away of portions either of the upper papyrus layer alone, or more frequently of both layers. In several places breaks of such length as to affect several lines have been imperfectly joined in the mending and mounting, so that parts of signs are concealed by overlapping. Moreover, three fragments have been mounted in the wrong position (corrected in Plates). These are: a piece from the end of lines 2 and 3, which has been mounted upside down; a narrow strip from the ends of lines 13, 14 and 15, which is now placed a line too high; and a smaller piece from near the beginning of lines 13, 14 and 15, which is mounted upside down.

A much more serious source of trouble lies in the condition of the papyrus towards the left-hand edge of the sheet, that is to say, at the ends of the lines. This portion has at some time been exposed to some rubbing agency. Towards the end of each line the ink becomes fainter and fainter, until in some cases the papyrus appears perfectly blank and it is impossible to discern a trace of ink, though the sense of the passage makes it certain that signs must have stood there. The result of this is that between one line and the next there is almost always a lacuna, the length of which it is impossible to gauge, except where this can be done from the sense; and this difficulty is heightened by the fact that down the left-hand edge, from the top to line 10, there has been mounted a vertical strip of blank papyrus which does not belong there.

The text consists of fourteen horizontal lines of writing, together with two useless fragments from a fifteenth line below these, both mounted out of place on inverted fragments (see above). The script is a typical hieratic of the XXth Dynasty, with a tendency towards cursiveness, though not nearly so marked as that shown in Mayer A, Harris A, or the dockets of Abbott. Ligatures are not infrequent, especially in the later lines, but they are always intelligible, though not altogether consistent. The hand is not that of any of the main documents relating to the robberies of the royal tombs. It is smaller and less imposing than that of Abbott and Amherst, both of which are attributed by Möller, probably with justice, to a single scribe.

2. Contents.

Mayer B is unfortunately no more than a fragment. Its beginning and its end are both incomplete, and it doubtless formed part of a long document of which no other portion has survived. It contains in its present state

[1] A photograph taken before the present mounting was done confirms this, but does not show the extreme edges.

no dating, and none of the persons mentioned in it can with any measure of probability be identified with those referred to in the other papyri dealing with the tomb-robberies of this period. Nor does our papyrus deal with the same series of events as any of the others; not only are the thieves concerned different, but the tomb robbed, that of King Nebmaʿrēʿ Miamūn (Ramesses VI.), is not alluded to in any other of the documents as yet published.

3. Translation.

. . . . . (1) 150 *deben* of copper. I quarrelled with him and said to him, "The division which you have made for me is not at all fair; you have taken three parts and you have given me one." So said I to him. (2) We weighed the silver which we had found and it amounted to three *deben* of silver. He gave me one *deben* five *kite* of silver and he took one *deben* five *kite* of silver; total [three *deben*] of silver.

(3) Now after some days the foreigner Pais went to the house of the foreigner Nesamūn. He found the things lying there and seized them. The foreigner (4) Nesamūn sent to me saying, "Come." Now the foreigner Pais was sitting with him, and the foreigner Pais said to him, "As for the silver which you found, as they tell [me] (??) [1] (5) you have given me none of it; I am going to tell it to the Prince of the West and to the *wʿrtw* [2]-officers." So said he to us. And we cajoled him and we said to him, "We will take you (to) the place in which [we?] found [it], (6) and you too shall bring (some) away for yourself." So said we to him.

Now after some days (?) we combined with the foreigner Pais, the metal-worker Pentaḥatnakht, the metal-worker Ḥori, (7) and the foreigner Nesamūn; total five men. We went up in a single body. The foreigner Nesamūn took us up and showed [us] (8) the tomb of King Nebmaʿrēʿ Miamūn, life, prosperity and health, the Great God. We said to him, "Where is the cemetery-worker [3] who was with you?" And he said to us, "The cemetery-worker was killed (9) along with Pabek the younger, who was with us and who would not let us out (?)." So said he to us. And I spent four days breaking into it, we being [present] (10) all five. We opened the tomb and we entered it. We found a basket (??) [4] lying on sixty . . . . . chests (?). We opened it. We found [. . . . .] of bronze; a bracelet (?) of bronze; three wash-bowls of bronze; a wash-bowl, a *nw*-vase (for) pouring water over the hands, of bronze; two *ḳb*-vases of bronze; two *pwnt*-vases of bronze; a *ḳb*-vase, a *ỉnkr* . . .-vase [. . . . .] of bronze; (12) three *ỉrr*-vases of bronze; eight beds of ornamented copper; eight *bỉś*-vases of copper. We weighed the copper of the objects and of the vases, and found (it to be) [500 *deben*?] of copper, (13) 100 *deben* of copper falling to the share [of each man?]. We opened two chests (?) full of clothes; we found, of good quality Upper Egyptian cloth *dỉw*-robes . . . . . *ỉdg*-robes,[5] thirty-five garments, [seven garments or] good quality Upper Egyptian cloth (14) falling to the share of each man. We found a basket (?) of clothes lying there; we opened it and found twenty-five *rwd*-garments of coloured (?) cloth in it, five *rwd*-garments of coloured (?) cloth falling [to the share of each man]. (15) . . . . .

[1] Reading *ỉn-w ỉ*.

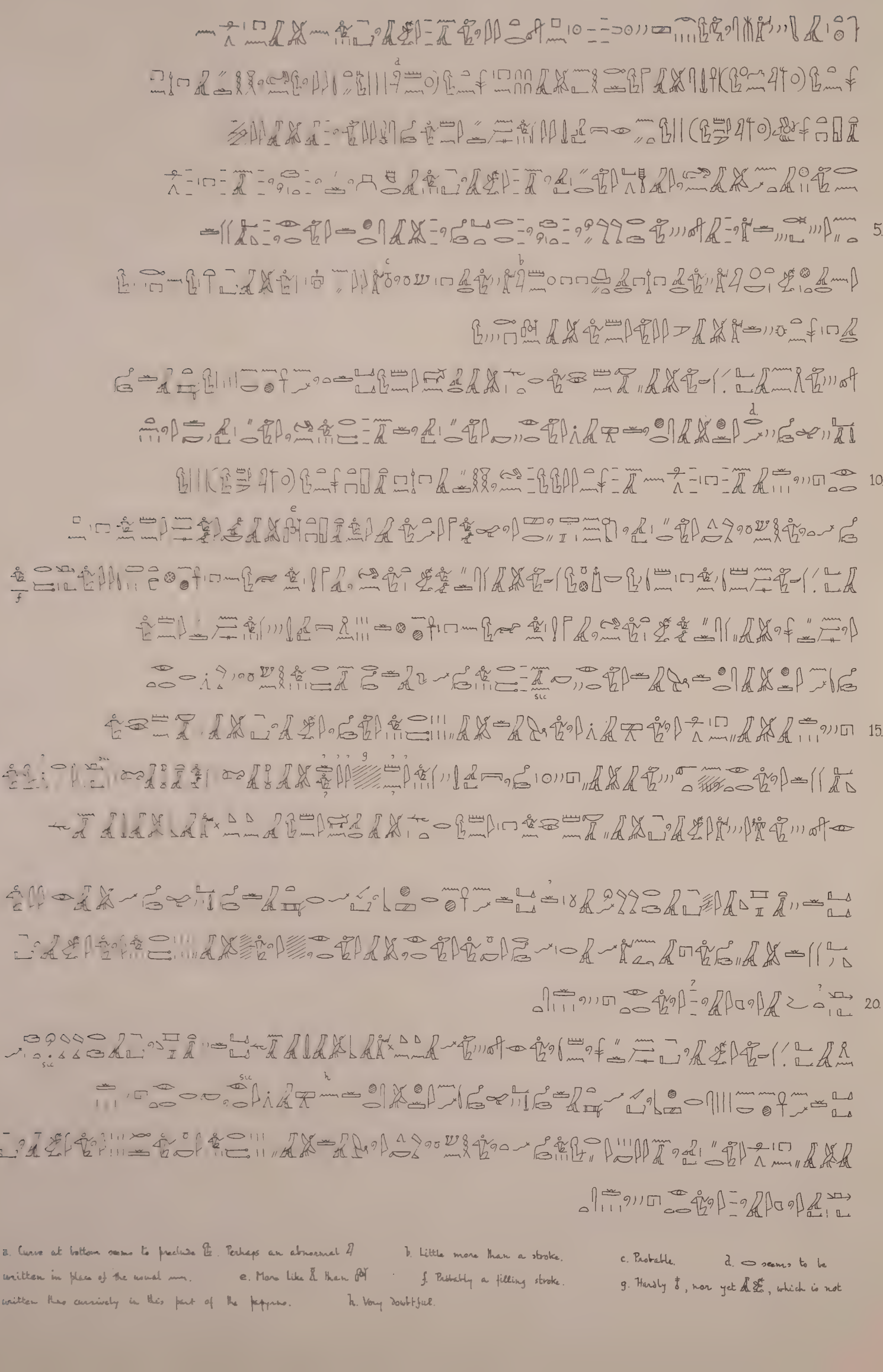
[2] Spiegelberg's reading *M-ḏ-ỉw* is tempting, but palaeographically impossible.

[3] See *Recueil de Travaux*, xvii, pp. 97–9; *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1909, p. 11; Brit. Mus. Ostracon 5631, l. 14.

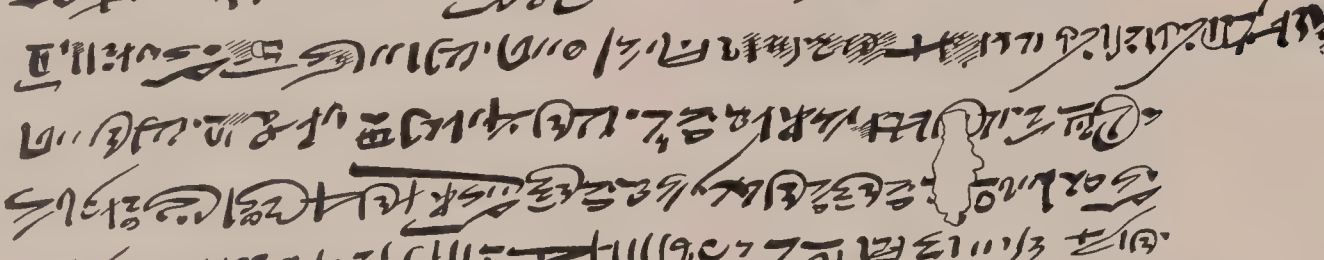
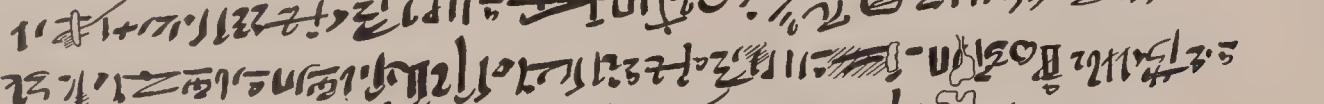
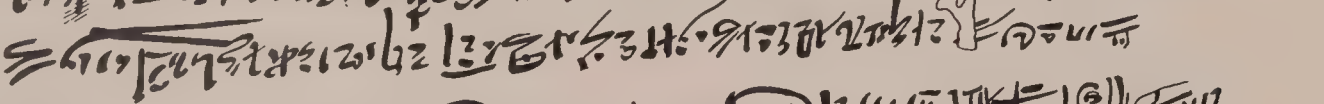
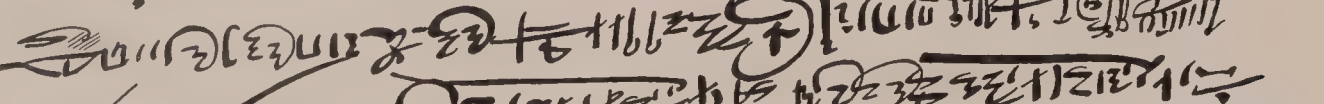
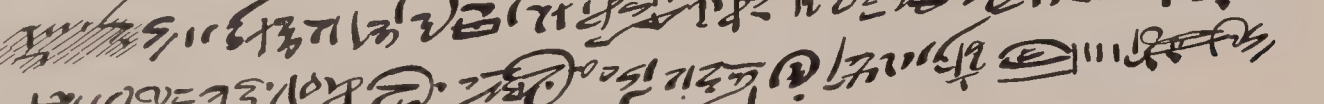
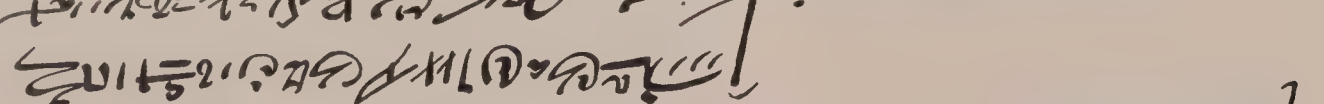
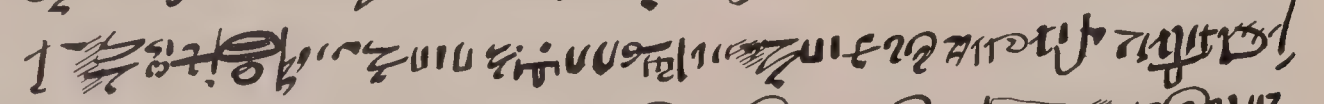
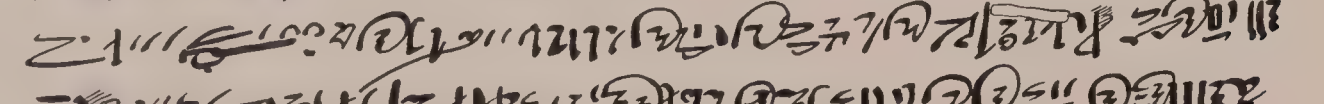
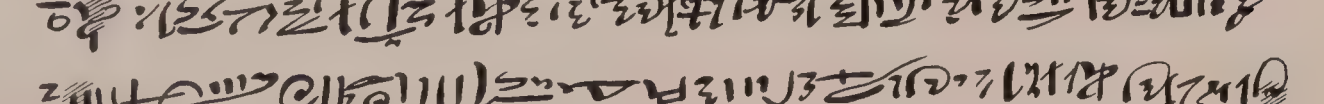
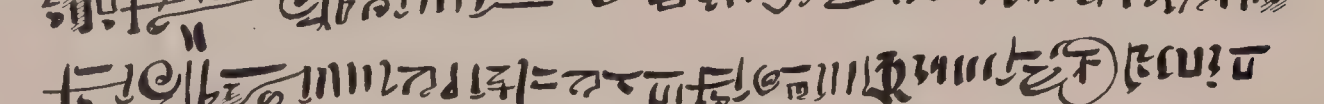
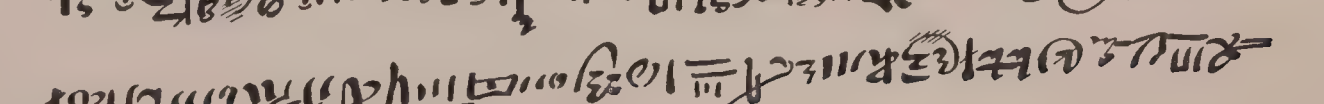
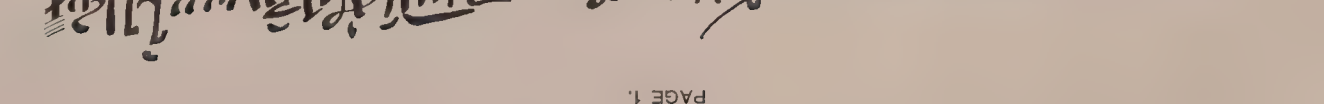
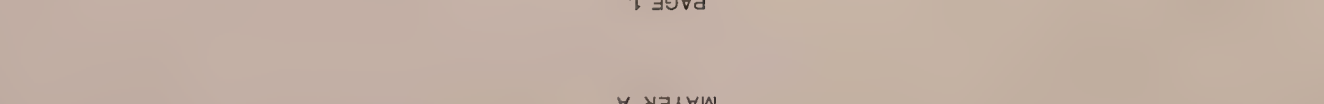
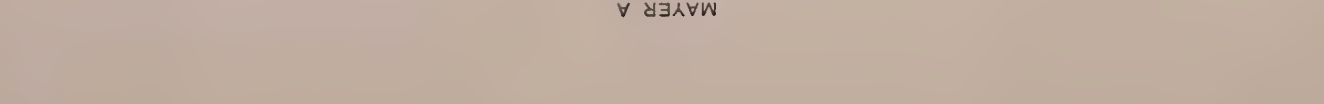
[4] Is this an error for *k-r-s*? Cf. l. 14.

[5] Cf. an unpublished Turin papyrus, *verso*, 1. 28 (of coloured cloth), and *verso*, 2. 22 (of good quality Upper Egyptian cloth); Pap. Harris, 142. 5, etc.

PLATES



a. Curve at bottom seems to preclude 𓂋. Perhaps an abnormal 𓂝 written in place of the usual 𓈖. b. Little more than a stroke. c. Probable. d. ○ seems to be written here carelessly in this part of the hieroglyph. e. More like 𓂝 than 𓂋 f. Probably a filling stroke. g. Hardly 𓃀, nor yet 𓃀𓏏, which is not written here carelessly in this part of the hieroglyph. h. Very doubtful.

1 
2 
3 
4 
5 
6 
7 
8 
9 
10 
11 
12 
13 
14 
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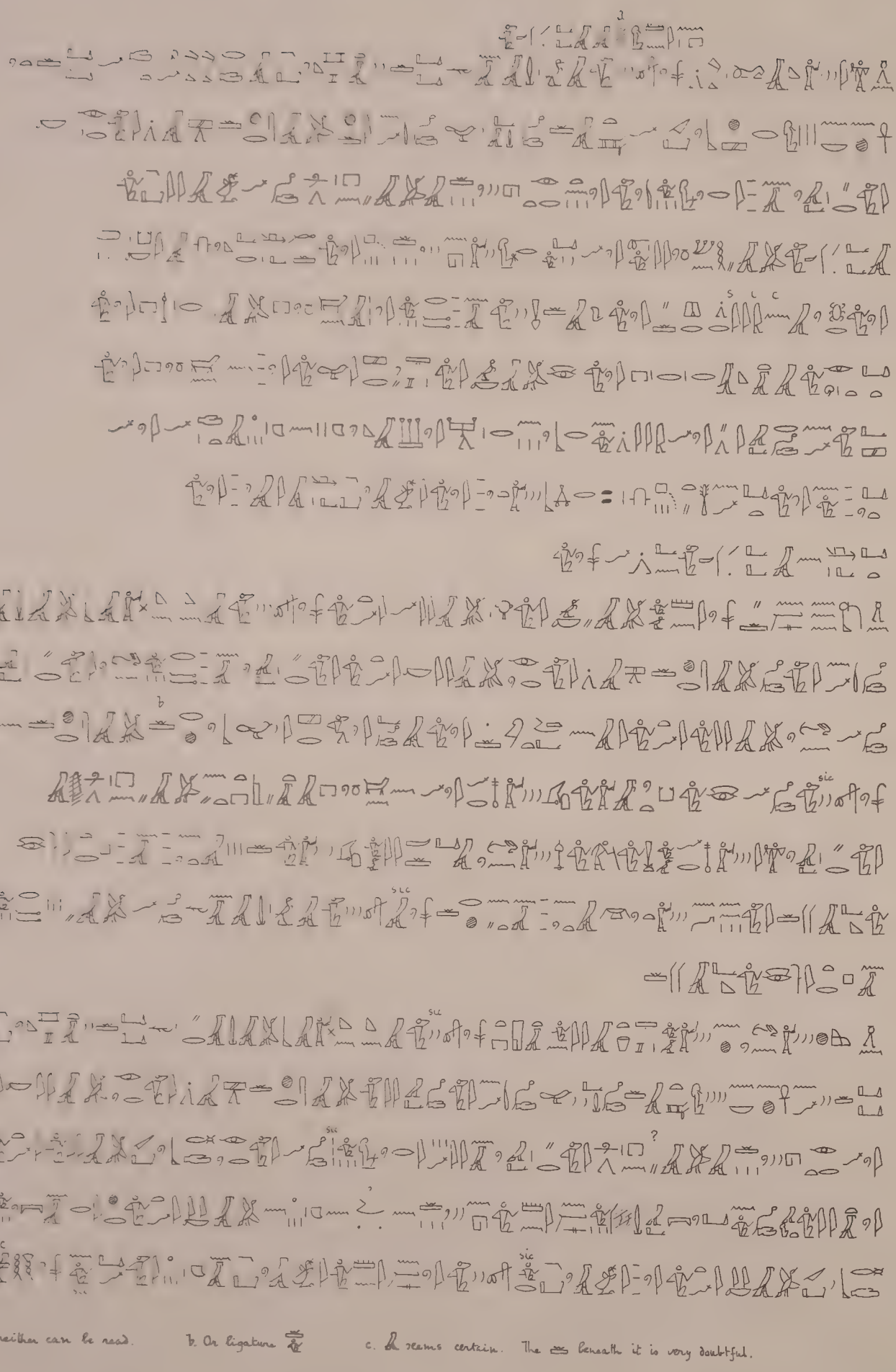
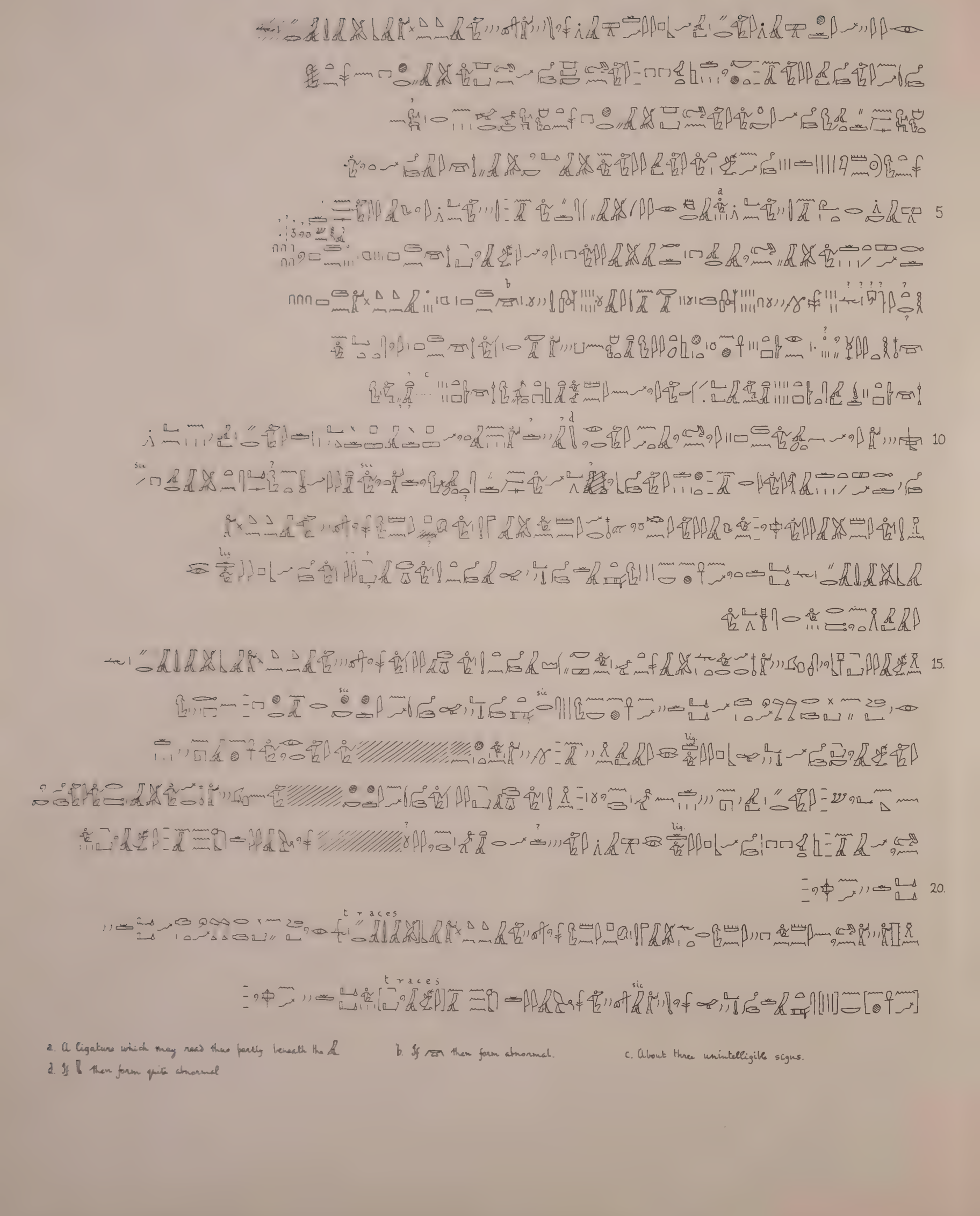


a. One expects [illegible] or [illegible], but neither can be read. b. Or ligature [illegible] c. [illegible] seems certain. The [illegible] beneath it is very doubtful.

기는 밤 아이가
나는 좋아하는 것을 나타내는 표현이다. 표현
곧은 화살표로 표시된 것은 주어와 서술어 사이의 관계
을 나타내는 것이다. 주어는 동사가 나타내는 동작을 하
도록 시켜서 문장 밖에 있는 것을 나타내기 때문에 사동
사라고 한다. 사동사는 동사 어간에 접미사 '-이-, -히-,
-리-, -기-, -우/구-, -추-' 등이 붙어 만들어진다.
보기 먹이다, 입히다, 앉히다, 울리다, 웃기다, 재우다
사동사 중에는 동사 어간에 접미사가 붙지 않고 형태가
바뀌어 만들어지는 것도 있다.
보기 보다 → 보이다, 먹다 → 먹이다
사동사 중에는 동사 어간에 '-게 하다'가 붙어 만들어
지는 것도 있다.
보기 울다 → 울게 하다, 웃다 → 웃게 하다
사동사 중에는 동사 어간에 '-게 하다'가 붙어 만들어
지는 것도 있다.
보기 울다 → 울게 하다, 웃다 → 웃게 하다
사동사 중에는 동사 어간에 '-게 하다'가 붙어 만들어
지는 것도 있다.



a. A ligature which may read thus partly beneath the
b. If thus form abnormal.
c. About three unintelligible signs.
d. If thus form quite abnormal

[illegible] 12

[illegible] 13

[illegible] 14

[illegible] 15

[illegible] 16

[illegible] 17

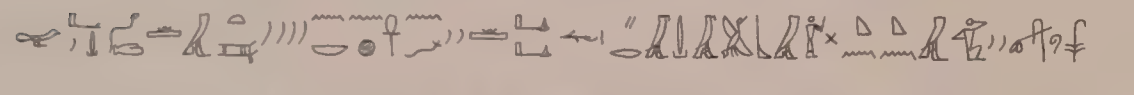
[illegible] 18

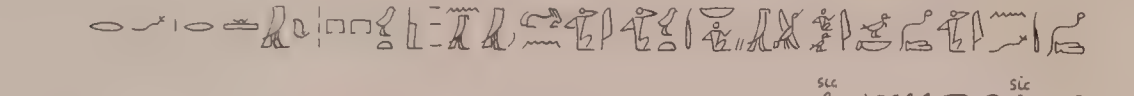
[illegible] 19

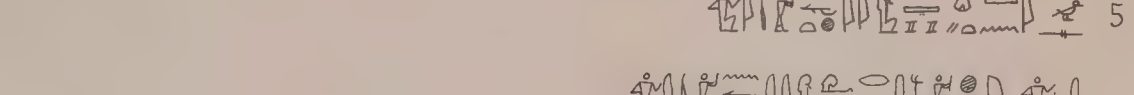
[illegible] 20

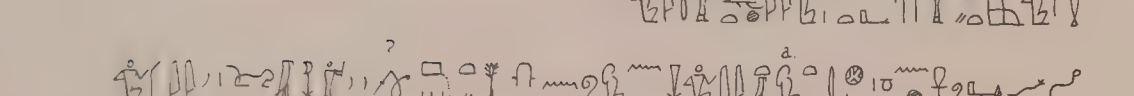
[illegible] 21

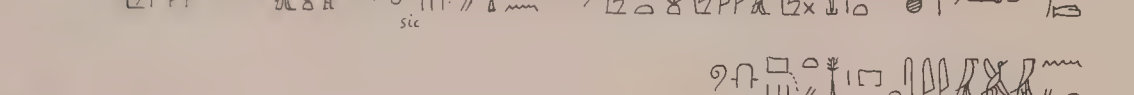
[illegible] 22

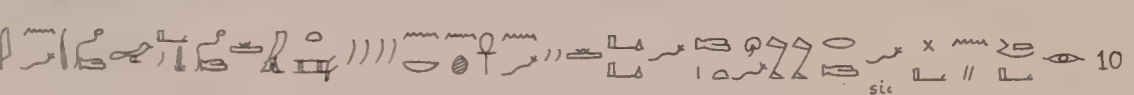


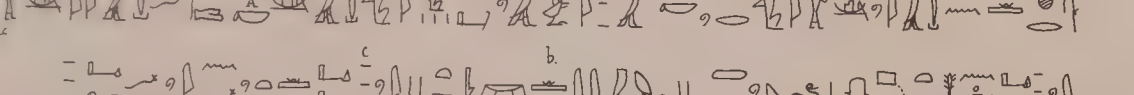


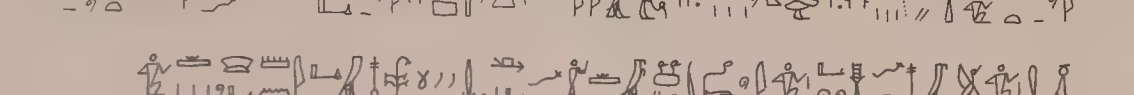


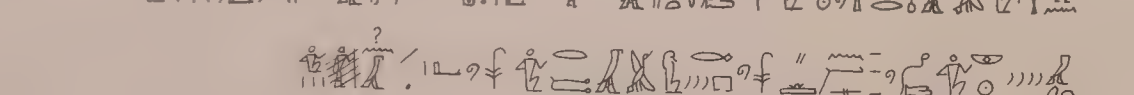


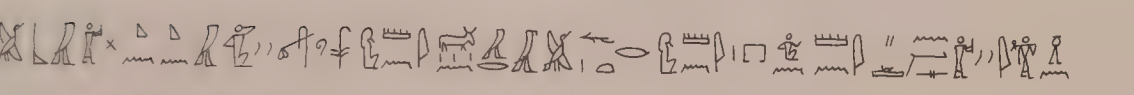


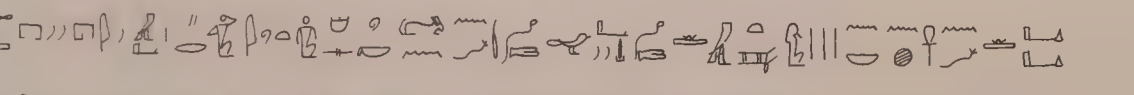


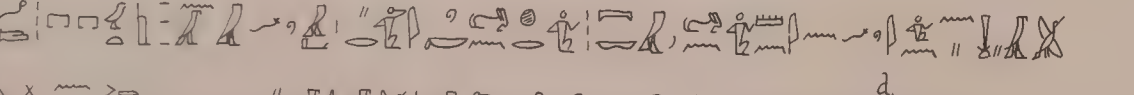


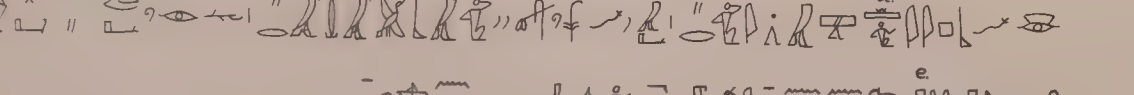


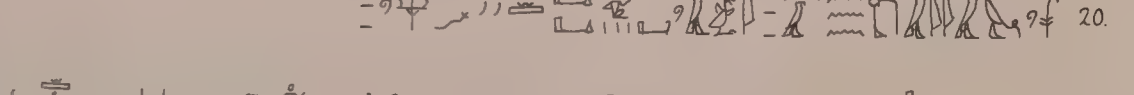












a. Dot omitted. b. Or fig. for c. Looks more like . d. Or alone. e. Possibly corrected over

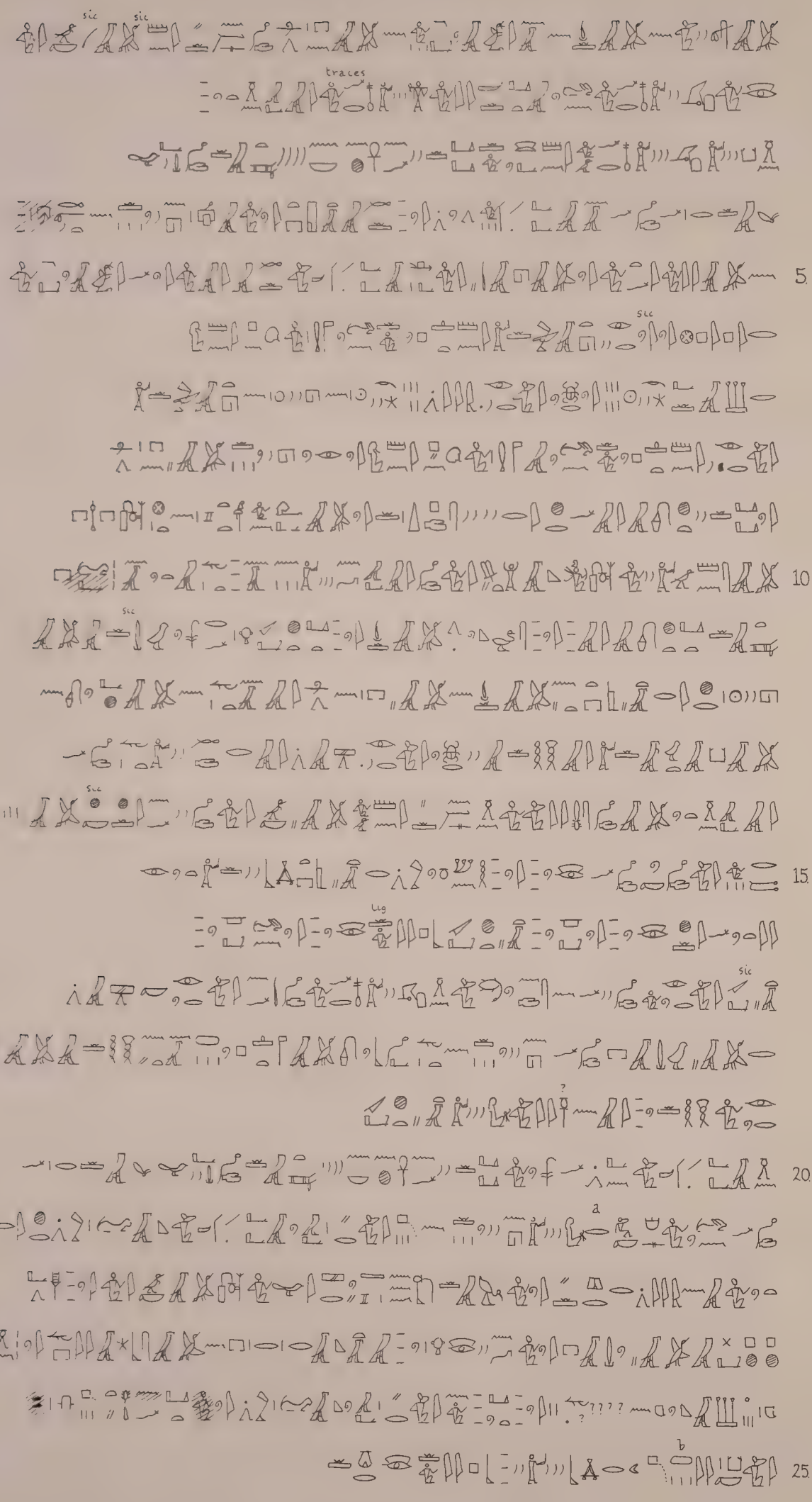
1 ㅋㅋㅋ 무보수 명예 고문 ㅠㅠ 버스 시간표 좀 보내줘 ㅠㅠ 진짜
2 늦는 줄 알고 뛰어왔는데 ㅋㅋㅋ 오늘 휴강이래 ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ
3 ㅠㅠ 이거 실화냐 ㅋㅋㅋ 너무 황당하다 진짜 ㅋㅋㅋㅋ
4 ㅋㅋㅋㅋ 진짜 미쳤어
5 ㅠㅠ 오늘 학교 폭파
6 시켜줘 ㅋㅋㅋ 제발

7 선생님께 보낼 사과 문자 초안 좀 써줘 ㅠㅠ 너무 미안해서
8 할 말이 없어 ㅋㅋㅋ

9 이번 시험 범위 너무 많은 것 같아요 ㅠㅠ 혹시 과거 문제
10 같은 것도 있을까요? 학원 선생님이 물어보라고 하셨어요
11 ㅋㅋㅋ 조교님 바쁘시면 답장 안 하셔도 괜찮아요 ㅠㅠ 그냥
12 한번 여쭤보라고 해서 ㅋㅋ 죄송합니다 ㅠㅠㅠ

13 수업 시간표 변경 안내 ㅠㅠ 이번 학기부터 수업 시간이
14 조금씩 바뀌었으니 꼭 확인하세요 ㅠㅠ 특히 수요일 ㅋㅋㅋ
15 1교시 수업 폐지 ㅠㅠㅠ

16 아니 버스 노선 ㅠㅠ 너무 많이 없어짐 ㅋㅋㅋ 타던 건
17 무의미하잖아 ㅋㅋㅋ 새로 생긴 노선 있는데 ㅠㅠ 학교
18 바로 가는 거 ㅋㅋㅋ 정류장 이름 좀 외워야겠다 ㅠㅠ
19 근데 그쪽 동네 이사 가는 사람 거의 없을 것 같은데 ㅋㅋ
20 왜 이렇게 만든 거야 ㅠㅠㅠ



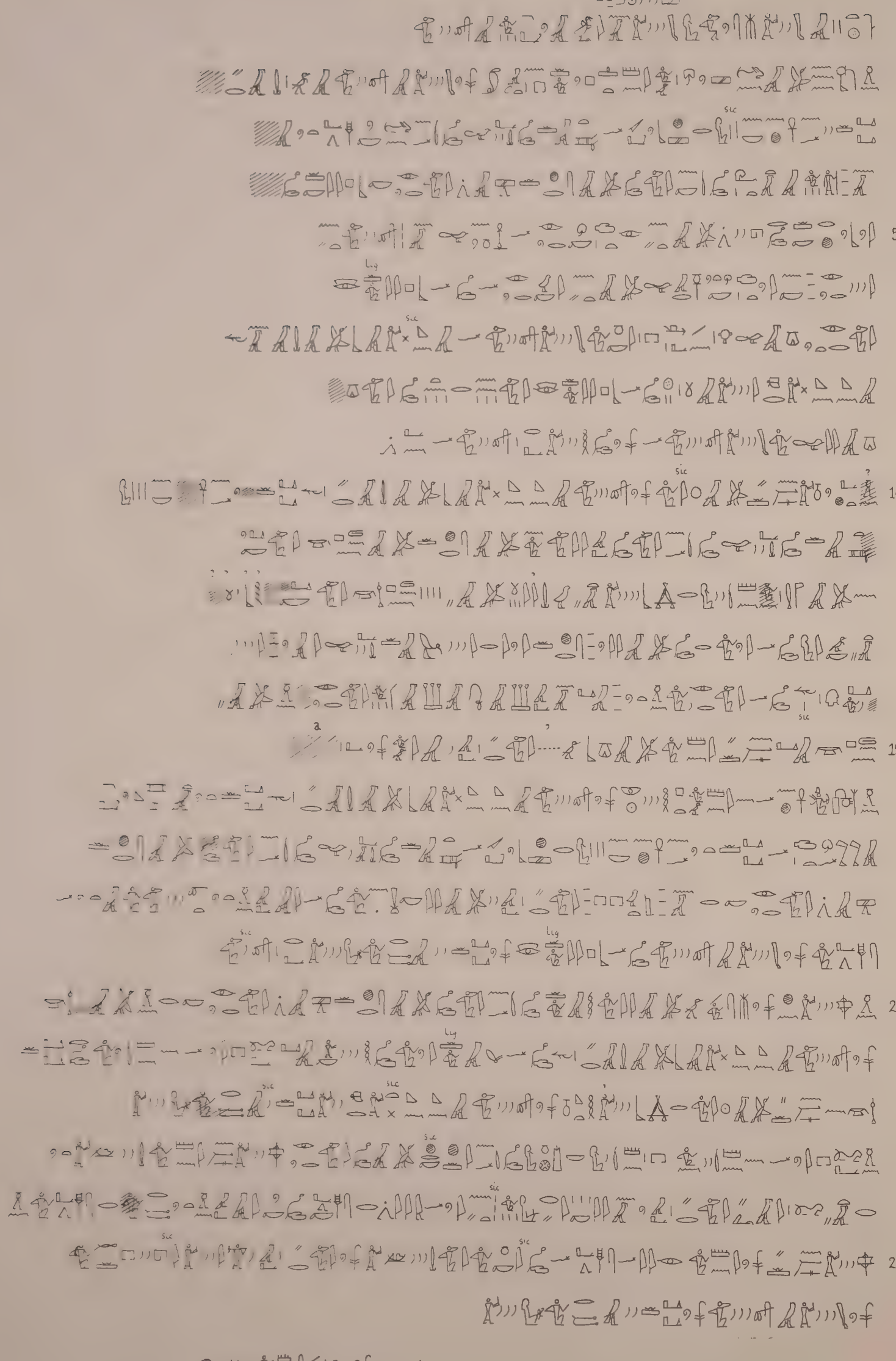
PAGE 7.

a. A sign partly underlying may or may not be the

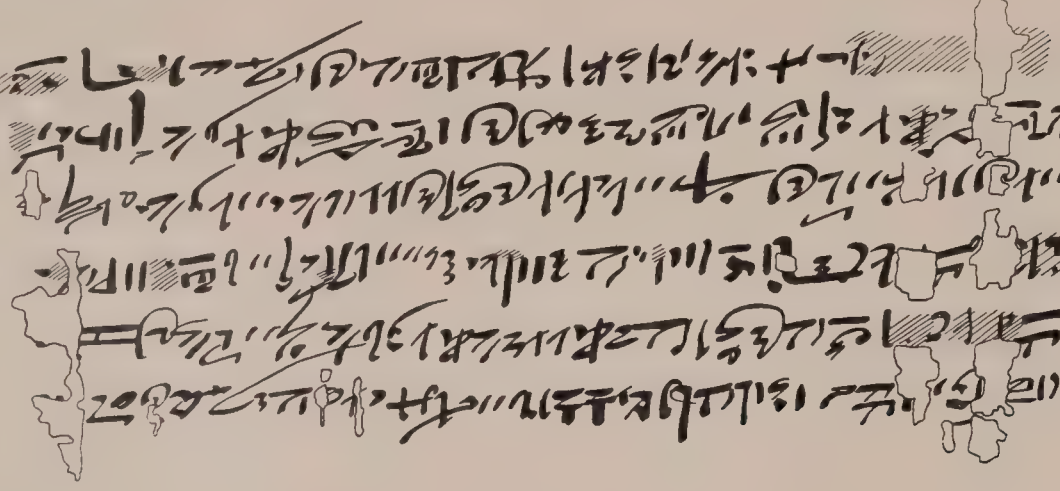
b. Ligature ; or

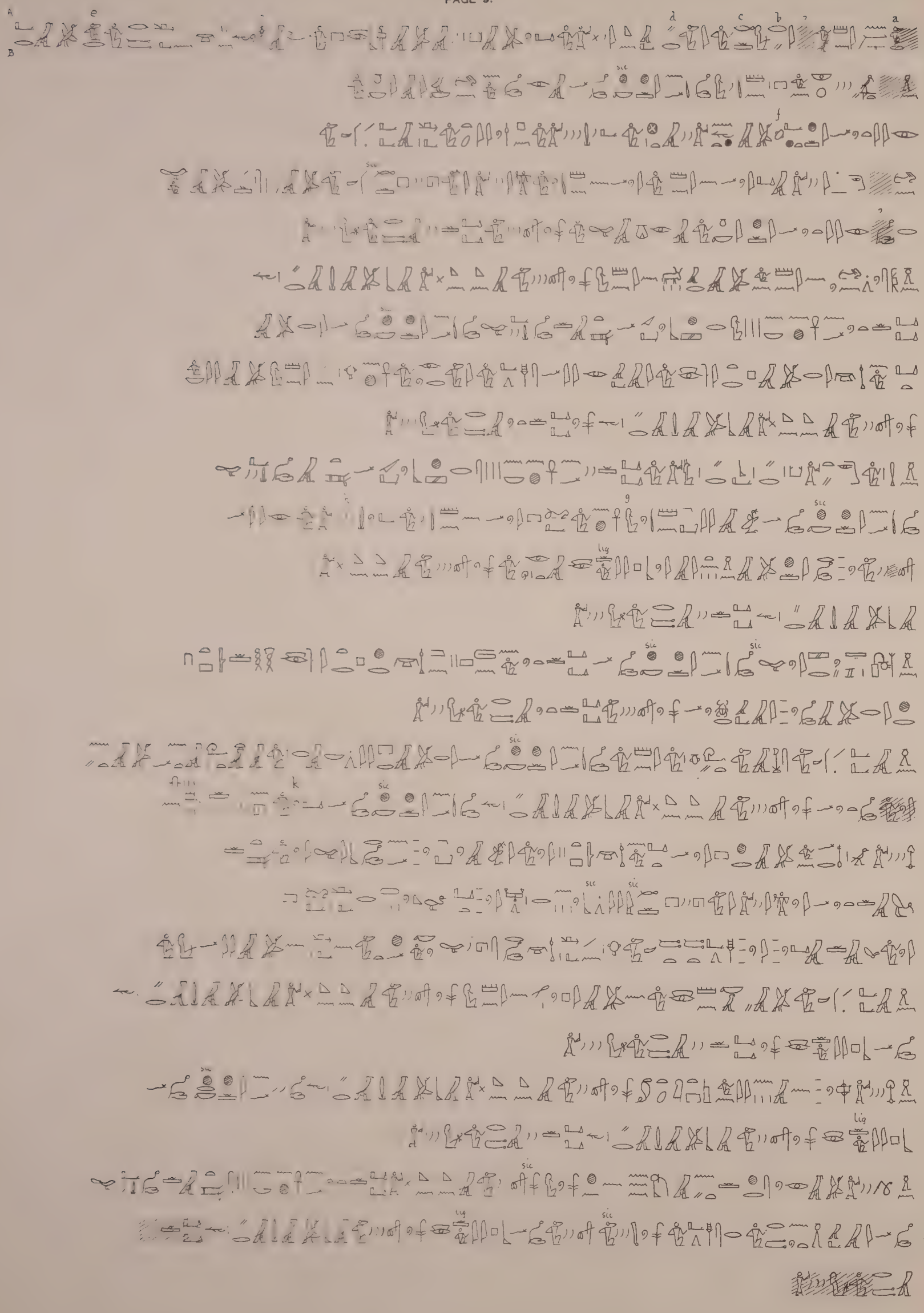
PAGE 6.

PAGE 7.



a. Possibly [illegible], but traces not quite convincing.





a. Not impossible if preceding traces accidental of line. b. Seems possible. c. Very doubtful. d. If then form abnormal. e. Cf. beginning of line. f. Probable, but smudged. g. Or . h. Cursive for ? k. meant.

ㅁ. 그리고 그녀가 그것을 다시 보았을 때 그것은 사라지고 없었다 ㅈㅈ

ㄱ. 그러나 그것은 그녀가 생각했던 것과는 전혀 다른 것이었다

ㄴ. 그녀는 그것을 보고 또 보았다 그것은 분명히 그것이었다

ㄷ. 그것은 그녀가 찾던 바로 그것이었다 그것은 그녀의 것이었다

ㄹ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅁ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅂ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅅ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅇ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅈ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

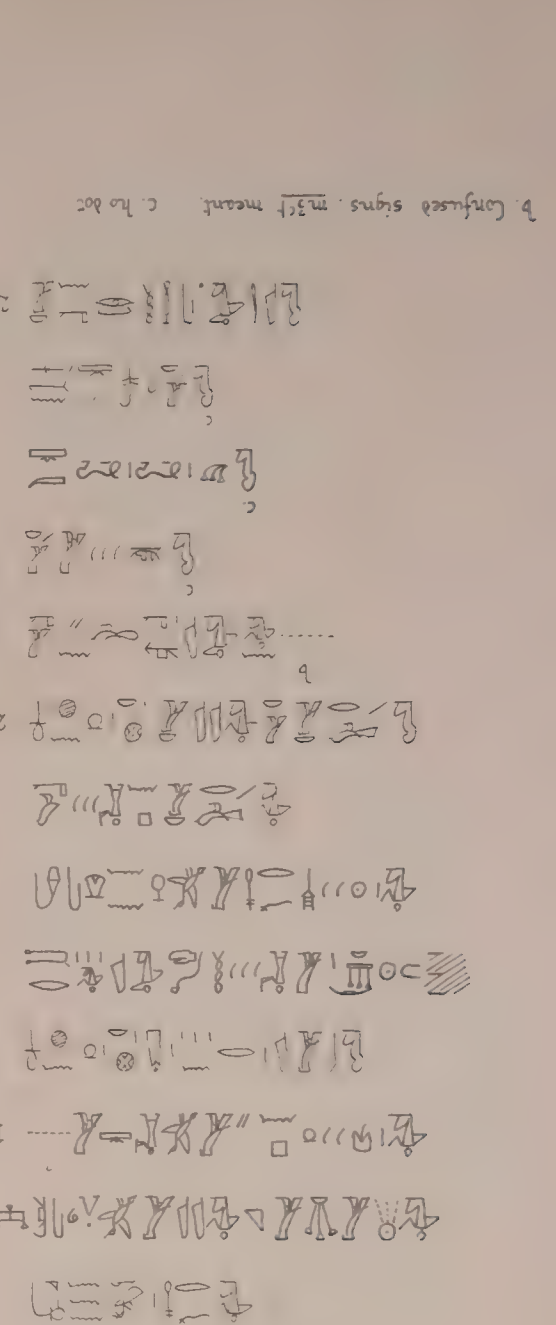
ㅊ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

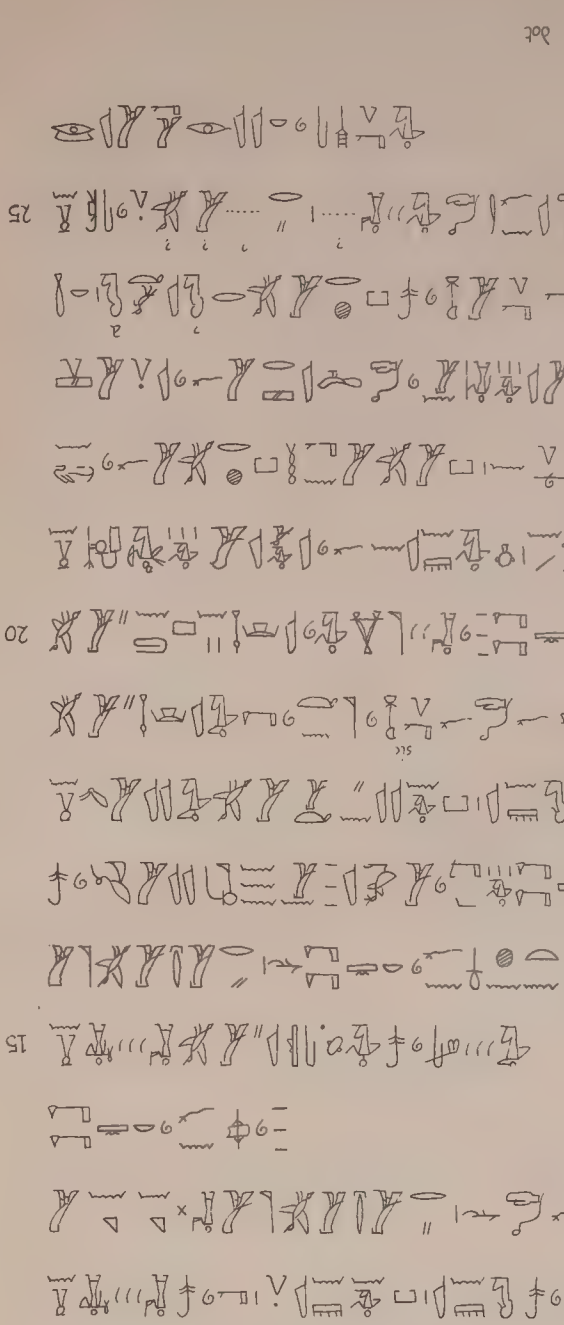
ㅋ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅌ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅍ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다

ㅎ. 그것은 그녀가 잃어버린 것이었다 그것은 그녀가 되찾은 것이었다





a. No dot

b. Confused signs. m3ꜥt meant. c. No dot.

PAGE 10.

PAGE 11.

1 ㅁㅣㄴㅓ 기ㅣㅣㅅㅡ ㅁㄷㅣㅈㅗㅅㅐㅜㅈ
2 ㅈㅐㅍㅣㅊㅣㄹㅈㅗ ㅏㅎㅇ
3 ㅁㅗㅂㅡㅋㅇㅣㄱㅜㅅㅗㅂㅣㅣㅊㅌㅅㅐㅂ.
4 ㅊㅣㅁㅔㅏㅆㅣㅂㅗㅣㅌㅣㅍㅣㅣㅈㅌㅅㅐㅂ.
5 ㅡㅈㅏㅓㅎㅣㅣㅍㅔㅣㅌㅅㅐㅂ.
6 ㅣㅣㅍㅎㅗㅜㅈㅣㅡㅌㅣㅣㅍㅔㅣㅌㅅㅐㅂ.
7 ㅍㅗㅣㅁㅣㅗㅁㅣㅂㅡㅣㅓㅎㅜㅈㅣㅊㅎ
8 ㅌㅜㅣㅣㅈㅡㅣㅁㅜㅣㅌㅣㅍㅔㅣㅣㅂㅣㅣㅅㅣㅣㅌㅣㅍㅔㅣㅌ
9 ㅏㅎㅓㅈㅣㅣㅁㅏㅇㅗㅂㅏㄹㅣㅌㅓㅣㅣㅂㅣㅣㅅㅗㅍㅎㅏㅌㅊ
10 ㅣㅁㅗㅈㅡㅍㅗㅎㅈㅣㅁ.
11 ㅣㅣㅣ

A.1 ᄂᆞᆫᆞᆷᆞᄉᆞᄋᆞᄉᆞᄒᆞᄂᆞᆫᆞᄃᆞᄅᆞᄆᆞᄇᆞᄉᆞᄋᆞᄀᆞᄂᆞᆫᆞᄃᆞᄅᆞ

ᄉᆞᄋᆞᄂᆞᆫᆞᄆᆞᄉᆞᄋᆞᄀᆞᄂᆞᆫᆞᄃᆞᄅᆞᄆᆞᄇ

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES IN MAYER A

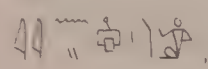
with references to the Abbott dockets.

References which are underlined refer to the pr-n-st3 trial. All others to the p3 ḥr trial

Names given under a single number refer to one and the same person except where doubt is expressed, e.g. in the case of No. 46.

Contractions used :— f. = father ; s. = son ; h. = husband ; w. = wife.

1 , 10.2.

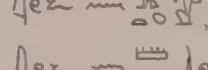
2  , 1.6

3 , 9.3. (? = 4)

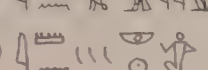
4 , (brother of 26) 5.18.

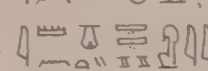
5 , (s. of 167. A), 3cc , 4.9

6 , (f. of 140) 10.21.

7  , ( ) 4.10 ; Abb. 8. A. 26.

8 ( ) 8.21 ; 8.23 ; 9.3 ; 9.12 ; 10.7.

9  , 4.12 , 13 B 9

10  , (f. of 67), 3.12.

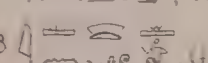
11 , (s. of 172), 5.5.

12 (s. of 77), 8.2 , 12.15 . Abb 8 B .4

13 , ( ), 3.15 ; s. of 24.

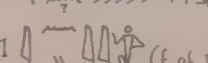
14 , (ḥm nṯr tpỉ n 'Imn), 6.6 ; 6.8.

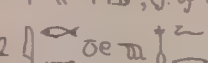
15 , (s. of 143 ; probably = 16), 3.24 ; 3.26.

16  , (probably = 15), 5.13 ; 10.5.

17 , (, s. of 154), 3.7.

18 , (f. of 38), 9.3.

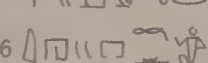
19  , (s. of 95) , 13 A. 21.

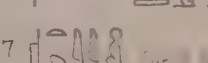
20  , (ḥrỉ Mḳ3ỉw) , 1.16

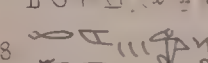
21 , (f. of 144) , 13 A. 11.

22 (ṯ3mỉ) , 4.12.

23 , (wife of 169), 3.1 ; also 11.16 , prob. same.

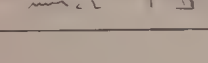
24  , (f. of 13) , 3.15.

25  , (w. of 57), 13 C. 12 . Cf. Spieg. Stud. u. Mat p. 86

26  , (mỉnw ; brother of 4) , 5.17 ; 8.25 ; 9.3 ; 9.18.

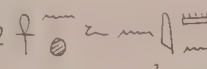
27 . (w. of 64) . 8 . spelt in 13 C 10

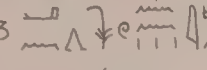
28 , (f. of 42) , 13 A. 18

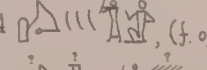
29  , 4.11.

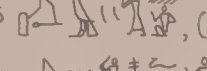
30 , (3cc) , 2.9 , 6.20

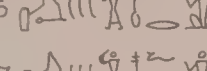
31 , 11.12 ; 13 A. 3.

32  , (sš mš^c , s of 100), 8.16 , 12.14, Abb 8 B .8

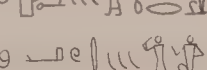
33  , 11.8.

34  , (f. of 40) , 2.14

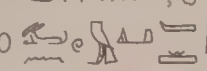
35  , (śmśm ḥ3ỉt) , 3.24.

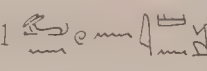
36  , (ṯ3ỉ 3bw) , 4.15 ; 4.18.

37 , (son of 114) , 10.9.

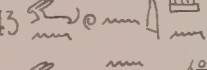
38  , (k3wtỉ , s. of 18) , 2.13 ; 6.2 ; 6.3 ; 6.17.

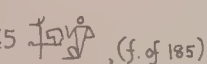
39 , 9.2 , 9.10

39A  , (f. of 119) , 3.26.

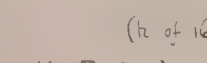
40  , (son of 34) , 2.14 , 6.2

41 , (šmśw) , 9.5 ; 12.17 , Abb 8 A 27

42  , (s. of 28) , 13 A. 18 .

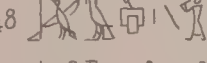
43  , (kḏ n pr 'Imn) , 4.21.

44 , (śḫṯỉ , s. of 174) , 2.17 ; 11.9.

45  , (f. of 185) , 11.3.

46 , (ḥm , śḫṯỉ) 5.6 ; (title lost) 7.1 ;

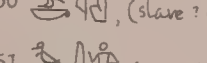
(h of 168) 13 c 4 ; (no title) Abb. 8 A 24 (not all the same ?)

47  , (f. of 96) , 3.18.

48 , (f. of 141) , 13. A 19.

49 , (mỉnw) , 3.21 ; 3.23 ; 3.25 ; 4.11 ; 10.3 ; 10.4 ; 10.19 ; 12.3

Abb. 8. A. 11 ; 8. B. 2.

50  , (slave ? of 140) , 10.24.

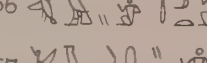
51 , (s. of 56) , 5.3.

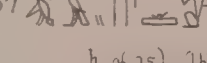
52 (Queen) 4.3.

53 , (mỉnw) , 10.15 ; Abb. 8. B. 3

54 , (f. of 123 ; possibly = 79) , 2.10 ; 6.1 ; 6.14 .

55 , 11.15 ; 13. A. 2 .

56  , (f of 51) , 5 3 (Reading uncertain ; see text & note)

57  , (3cc , s. of 180), 1.12 (11 omitted) ; 1.13 ; 13.c.12 (title śrr . h of 25), Abb 8. A 16 , 8 B 16 ; Spieg Scud u Mat p 86

58 , (the younger), 9.3 ; 13 B.3.

59 , 7.2.

60 , 5.1.

61 , (f. of 148), 8.20 ; 12.19 ; Abb. 8 A.12.

62 , (wʿb n Hnśw), 9.24 , 12 16, Abb 8 A 10 . 8 B 11

63 , (3ᶜᶜ), 2.4.

64 , (Φ), 12 20 ; Abb 8 B 15.

65 , (ỉhwtỉ), 11.10 . (prob. = 66)

66 , (no title), 13.A.7. (prob. = 65)

67 , (s. of 10), 3.12.

68 , (ỉhwtỉ , h. of 166), 13.C.11.

69 , (šmśw), 11.14.

70 , (3ᶜᶜ , mỉnw , under the overseer of cattle of Amon)

1.8 ; 1.15 ; 1.17 ; 11.11 ; prob. = Abb. 8.A.17.

71 , (3ᶜᶜ n ỉỉp n ʾImn), 9.20 ; (ỉst wšḫt , son of 75), 12.22.

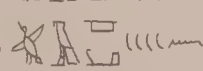
These two prob. identical ; see Abb. 8A.7 ; 8B.8.

72 , 7.3.

73 , (h. of 145 + 171), 13C.6. (? = Abb.8B.5)

74 , (master of 156) ; 12.24 ; Abb.8 A.9 ; 8 B. 10.

75 , (f. of 71), 12.22 ; Abb. 8 A.7. ; 8B. 8-9.

76  , 5.9.

77 , (wʿb ; s. of 12) , 8:2 ; 12.15 ; Abb. 8 B. 14.

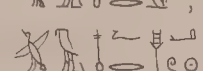
78 , (s. of 159 ; h. of 105), 3.7 ; 13 C.8 ; Abb. 8A.27 ; 8B.1.

79 , (sš , s. of 121), 1.11 ; 2.6 ; 6.22 ; Abb. 8 A.14.

80 , 1.7.

81 , 13. A. 15.

82 , (), 5.13. (? = 83).

83  , (pś śgnn), 11.18 ; (no title), 13 B.8 ; prob. same.

84 , (ʿtḥ), 9.2 . Abb. 8. B. 21.

85 , (3ᶜᶜ), 6.5.

86 , (s. of 173) , 1.16.

87 , 13.A.12.

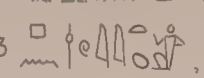
88 , (sš pr ḥḏ) , 6.10

89 , 9 a ; 12.11.

90 , (śgmỉ n pr ʾImn) , 10.18 ; Abb. 8 B. 12.

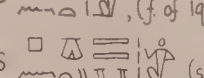
91 , (obscure , perhaps not a name), 8.15.

92 , (šmśw) , 10 25

93  , (3ᶜᶜ) , 9.2.

94 , 13 A.16

95 , (f of 19) , 13 A.21.

96  , (s of 47), 3 18 , (no title , same man ?), 13 B 10

97 , (wʿw), 11.19 ; 13 B.7

98 , 13 A 17

99 , (ỉỉmšnb , h. of 133), 3.18 ; 3.21 , 3.22-3 ; 12.4 ;

13 C.2 ; Abb. 8 A.4 ; 8 A.21

100 , (f. of 32), 8.16 ; 12.14 ; Abb. 8 B.18.

101 , 13 A.8.

102 , (w. of 163), 11.21 ; 13 C.9.

103 (no dot) , 11.22 , (= 104 or 105 ?)

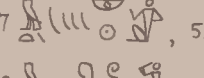
104 , (w. of 120) , 13 C.3.

105 , (w. of 78), 13C.8.

106 , (w. of 137) , 13.C.5.

107 , 5.14 ; 10.5.

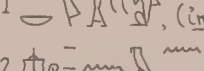
108 (no dot), (sister of 49) , 4.11

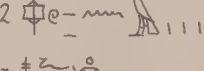
109  , 1.6.

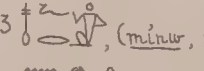
110 , (or read for ?) , 9.10.

111 , (ỉmỉ r³ Nwt , t³ỉt) , 1.6.

112 , (ḥmw n ỉst M³ct), 9.22 ; 12.23 ; Abb.8A.6 ; 8B.7

113  , (mỉnw , s. of 155) , 2.14 ; 6.2

114  , (f of 37) , 10.9.

115  , 13 A.20.

116 , (), 8.23 ; 8.25.

117 , (ferryman . ? = 116), 12.20.

118 , (s. of 188) , 9.a

119 , (s. of 39 a) , 3.26

120 , (sš mḏ³t nṯr ; s. of 149 , h. of 104) , 13 C.3.

121 , (f. of 79) , 1.11

122 , (wʿb Hm? called N.) , 11.5 . (? = 123)

123 , (wʿb , s. of 54) , 2.10 ; 6.1 ; 6.14 .

124 , (ḥrỉ Mʿḏȝỉw) , 1.3 ; 1.13 ; 2.20 ; 2.21.

125 , (mỉnw , s. of 176) , 3.10 . (? = 126).

126 , (mnw), 5.16. (? = 125)

127 , (ḫs snṯr), 12.6

128 , 8.15.

129 , (sḏmi), 4.6

130 , (cṯḥ), 8.10; 8.22.

131 , (cṯḥ, = 130), 12.25.

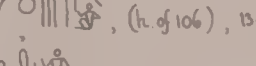
132 , (2wn), 4.3.

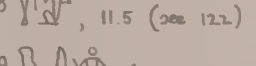
133 , (wr of 99), 13.C.2

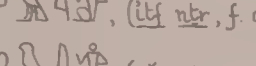
134 , (no dot; ? = 133), 11.24

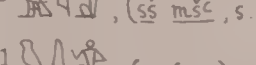
135 , (3cc n pr Mnṯw), 1.12; 1.21. (Prob. = 136).

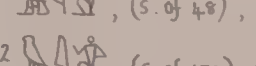
136 , (ỉḫwṯi n pr Mnṯw), 11.4. (Prob. = 135)

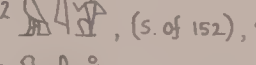
137  , (h. of 106), 13C.5

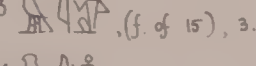
138  , 11.5 (see 122)

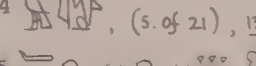
139  , (ỉṯf nṯr, f. of 169), 1.11; 3.1

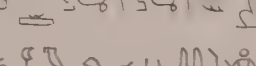
140  , (sš mšc, s. of 6), 10.21

141  , (s. of 48), 13A.19

142  , (s. of 152), 8.15.

143  , (f. of 15), 3.24; 3.26.

144  , (s. of 21), 13A.11.

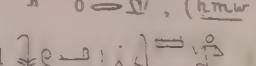
145  , (w of 73), 11.23, 3.C.6

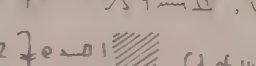
146 , (mll(t)), 5.7

147 , (f. of 170), 12.10; Abb. 8A.3; 8B.4

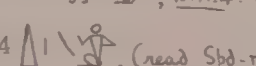
148 , (Φ(((, s. of 61), 8.20; 12.19; Abb. 8A.12.

149 , (f. of 120), 13C.3.

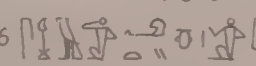
150  , (hmw), 9.17.

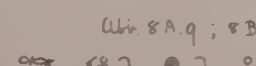
151  , (mỉnw), 9.2

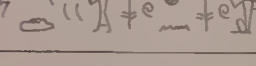
152 , (f of 142), 8.15

153  , 13.A.4. (? = Abb. 8A.18)

154 , (read Spd-ms? f. of 17), 3.7.

155  , (f. of 113), 2.14.

156  , (3cc, slave of 74), 9.15; 12.24. Abb. 8A.9; 8B.10.

157  , (ḫs snṯr), 12.5; Abb. 8A.23

158 , (shti), 11.7; (no title) 13.A.5. (?same man)

159 , (f. of 79), 3.7; 13C.8; Abb. 8B.1.

160 , (sš mšc), 6.10.

161 , (ỉḫwṯi n pr Imn), 11.6. (prob. = 162)

162 , (3cc, mnw n pr Imn), 2.1; 6.21; 6.24. (prob. = 161)

163 , (sḏmi, h. of 102), 13C.9; Abb. 8B.20

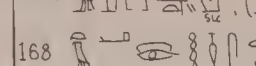
164 , (k3wṯi, h. of 27), 4.8; 5.1; 13C.10.

165 , (hm,), 9.9; 12.21; Abb. 8B.13.

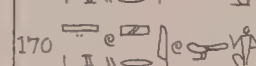
166 , (wr of 68), 11.20; 13C.11)

167 , 6.13

167A , (f of 5), 4.9.

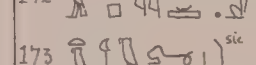
168  , (wr of 46), 11.25, 13C.4

169 , (wcb, s. of 139, h. of 23), 1.11; 2.6; 3.1; 6.22

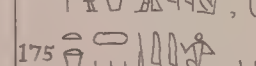
170  , (ss, s. of 147), 9.13; 12.10; Abb. 8A.3; 8B.4.

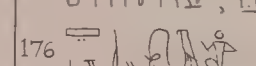
171 , (wr. of 73), 13C.7.

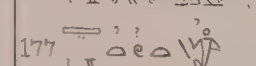
172 , (hmt, mother of 11), 5.4.

173  , (parent of 86), 1.16.

174 , (f. of 144), 2.17. (= 175).

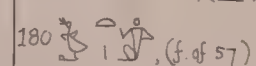
175  , 1.12. (= 174)

176  , (f of 125), 3.10

177  , 13A.10.

178 , (nickname of 127), 12.6

179 , (wcb) 11.13; Abb. 8A.15; (no title; ? same man) 13A.6.

180  , (f. of 57), 1.12; 1.13. Spieg. Stud. u. Mat. p. 86

181 , (hm), 4.13; 4.15; 4.18; 12.8.

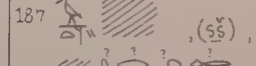
182 , 5.7.

183 , (šnc) 12.18; (title lost; ? same man) 9.1.

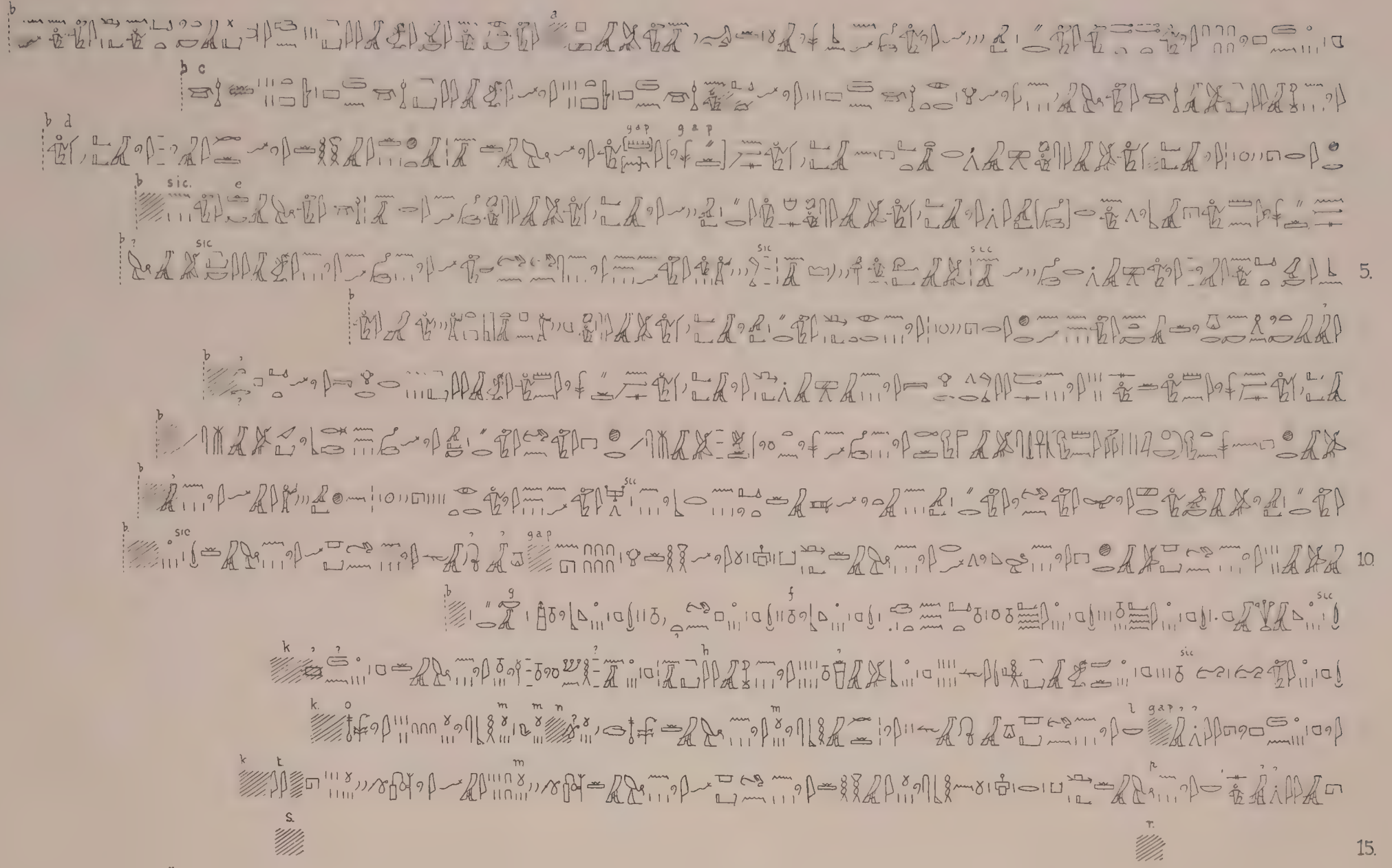
184 , (), 13A.14.

185 , (ss, s. of 45), 11.3; (no title; ? same man) 13A.9.

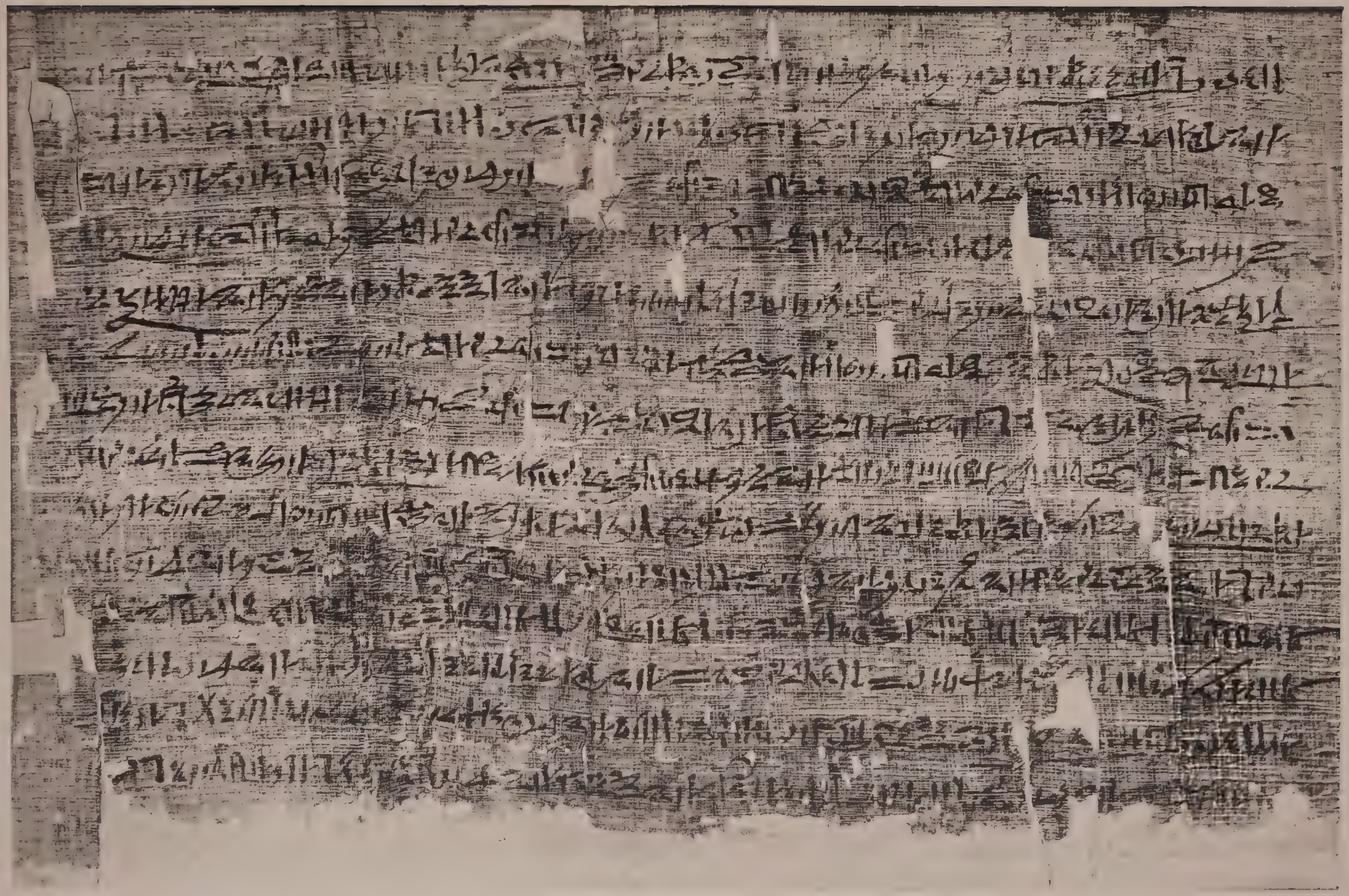
186 , (), 5.15; 12.26; Abb. 8A.5; 8B.17.

187  , (ss), 12.8.

188 , (f. of 118), 9a.



a. Fold in papyrus. Read [illegible] or [illegible] b. The dotted line marks the right hand edge of a blank vertical strip of papyrus wrongly placed here c. [illegible] on misplaced fragment at end of l.3.
d. [illegible] on misplaced fragment at end of l.2. e. Or [illegible] f. On [illegible] (lig.) g. Or [illegible] h. Trace only k. Length of gap uncertain owing to rubbing of surface. l. Very uncertain; on inverted fragment in l.14. m. Either lig. for [illegible] or simply [illegible] n. Traces of two small signs; read [illegible]. o. [illegible] partly on misplaced fragment in l.12. p. [illegible] on inverted fragment in l.13. r. Slight trace on inverted fragment in l.12. s. Unintelligible traces on misplaced fragment in l.14. t. On misplaced fragment in l.13.



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